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—Jonah Goldberg

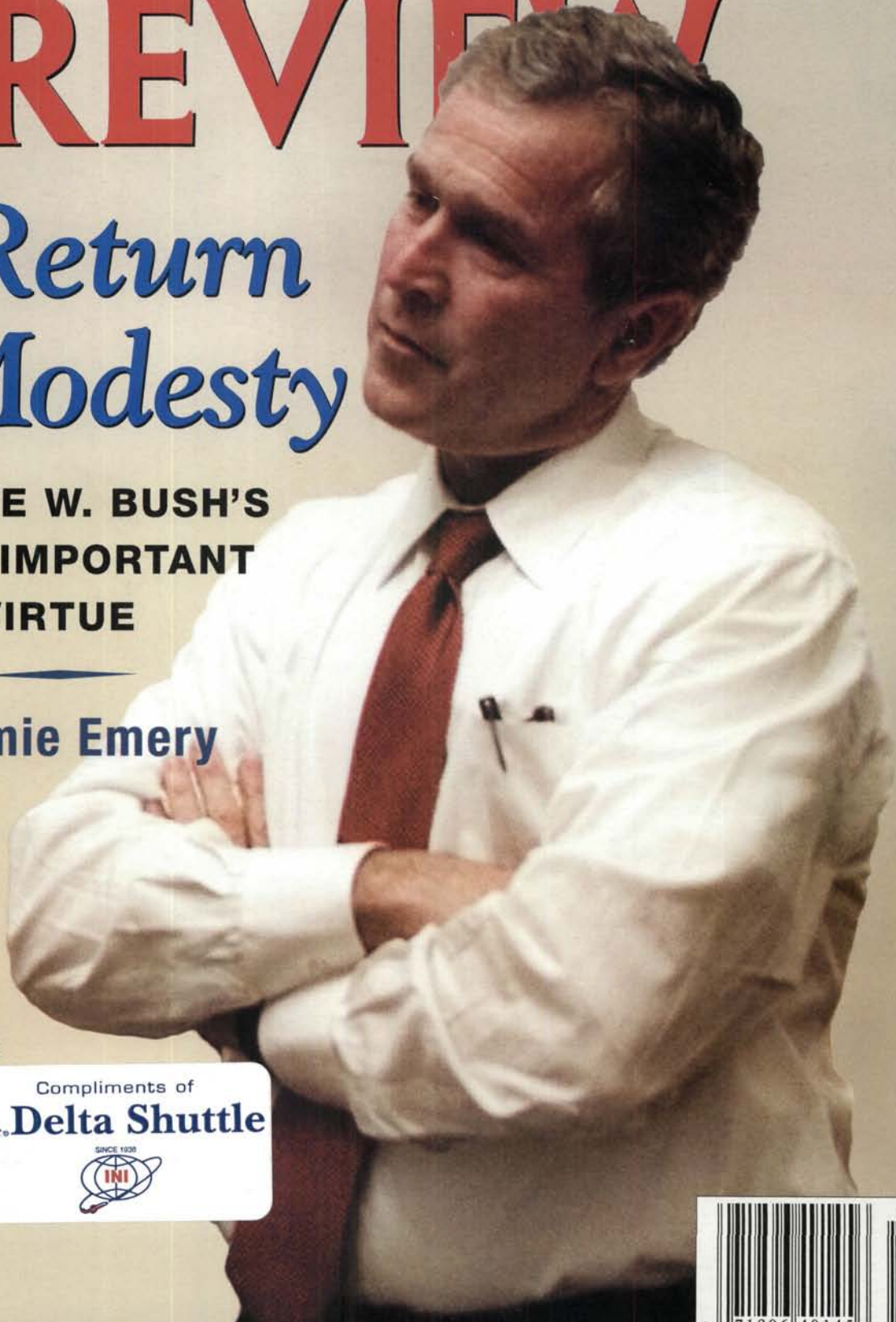
Ponnuru: HOW IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONISTS BLEW IT

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Return to Modesty

GEORGE W. BUSH'S MOST IMPORTANT VIRTUE

Noemie Emery



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A world of ideas on public policy.

Partnerships offer hope in sub-Saharan Africa

By Dr. Henry A. McKinnell

The healthcare crisis in sub-Saharan Africa is one of the great human tragedies of our lifetimes. The magnitude of this crisis has led to a valuable debate on how best to provide healthcare to those suffering from the epidemics that are ravaging that region. The key is partnership. Through partnerships, we can replace the destructive cycle of poverty and disease with a virtuous cycle of investment and health. To do so requires a new model of cooperation among governments, private industry and nongovernmental organizations.

Each partner has a critical role to play. From national governments, for example, partnerships derive their political will. In South Africa, President Mbeki's government provides political will to support Pfizer's Diflucan program, a novel public/private alliance to ease the suffering of AIDS patients. In Botswana and Senegal, Merck has formed a partnership with the Harvard AIDS Institute and the Gates Foundation to promote AIDS prevention and expand access to care; and in the Accelerating Access Initiative, a group of pharmaceutical companies have joined with UN agencies, the World Bank and governments to provide AIDS/HIV prevention, care and treatment in Senegal and Uganda.

Political will finds expression in more than a willingness to forge new alliances. It is also evident in the creation of an economic and social climate where innovation can take root and flourish, including the protection of private and intellectual property. Facing large-scale medical emergencies, some governments have been tempted to seize the patents that drug companies hold to their discoveries, and assign those rights to others. This practice – known as "compulsory licensing" – has longer-term consequences that are highly destructive.

> ***We can replace the destructive cycle of poverty and disease with a virtuous cycle of investment and health.***

If governments weaken intellectual property rights in this way, they risk undermining both the ability and willingness of pharmaceutical companies to discover new cures and treatments. They also discourage the technology transfer that is essential to raise the quality of healthcare in the developing countries.

Governments in the developed world have an equally important role to play through "burden-sharing." The richer countries, by agreeing to pay a fair share of the costs of innovation in the marketplace, can make it possible for drug companies to provide products affordably in the poorer regions. Governments, therefore, must choose policies wisely, with an eye to the short-term and long-term benefits of their citizens and the global impact of their actions.

If governments provide the will, the private sector provides the way, securing expanded access to resources. These resources include not only medicines, but also the tools of prevention and education.

The role of NGOs and agencies is to provide needed expertise and capabilities, particularly at the field level. From these organizations, our partnerships draw expertise for improving and expanding medical infrastructure, and accurately measuring results.

As a prime example, the International Trachoma Initiative – funded by Pfizer, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation – seeks to eliminate the world's leading cause of preventable blindness. The donation of Pfizer's antibiotic Zithromax is only one facet of this broad-based campaign. This is not an isolated program. Since 1996, research-based pharmaceutical companies have committed more than $1.2 billion to long-term programs to fight diseases in sub-Saharan Africa and in other less-developed areas.

These partnerships are not the perfect solution, but they point the way, and their potential can be greatly magnified, given that we are entering a golden age of pharmaceutical research. Over the past two decades, drug companies have invested billions in R&D programs to discover more than forty new medicines and new indications aimed at the diseases that plague sub-Saharan Africa. Many more are on the way. A survey of pharmaceutical companies in late 2000 found 103 AIDS drugs either in clinical trials, or awaiting FDA approval. These medicines will bolster the 64 existing treatments. In 1987, there was only one.

In ensuring access to these new medicines, the watchword should be "partnership," with governments and industry ready to show that access and innovation are not antithetical concepts. It is time to expand our partnerships to a wider range of governments, companies, NGOs, and others committed to global health. Together we can and must confront humanity's killers.

Dr. Henry A. McKinnell is President and CEO of Pfizer Inc. This article is adapted from his remarks at the 2001 World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Cover: © Reuters NewMedia Inc./CORBIS

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NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

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Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

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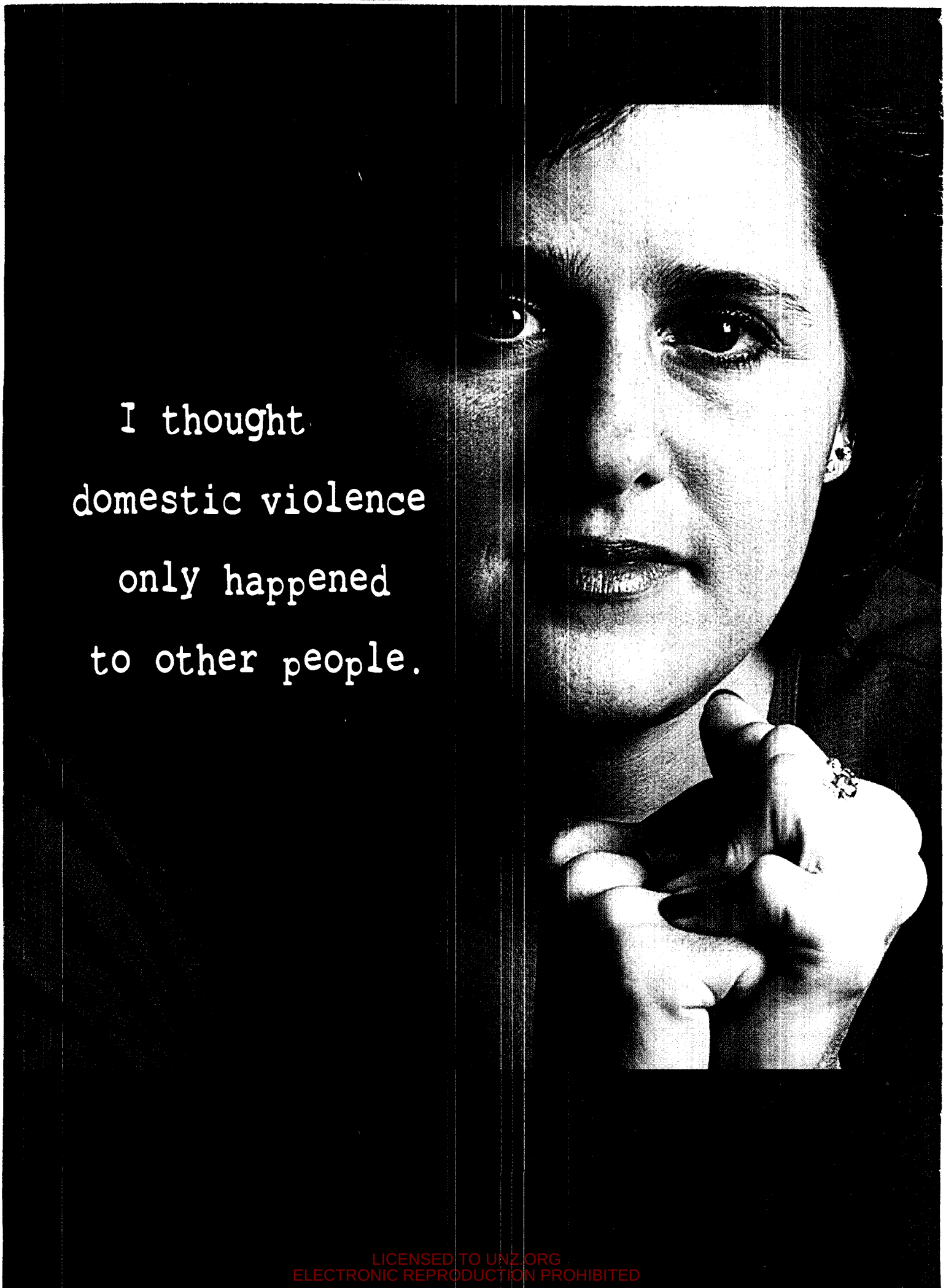

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NATIONAL REVIEW

April 2 issue; printed March 14

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SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
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ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330

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■ LETTERS ■

A 'FRINGER' SPEAKS

I seldom read your magazine, but at a bookstore today I picked up the March 5 issue and started to read Michael Knox Beran's article ("Fringers"). I found it interesting enough to buy the magazine. There's very little in Mr. Beran's article that I agree with, but I think it makes some valid points about what he describes as the "lunatic fringe." (I'd fall within that definition by Mr. Beran's standards.)

One area of disagreement that I have with Mr. Beran's perspective is where he says that Nechayev was a bible for radicals since the 1860s. I think Mr. Beran's point about radicalism's being attractive "because of the promise of spiritual fulfillment" is correct, but I seriously doubt that there are many radicals familiar with Nechayev except as a footnote in works about Bakunin.

Mr. Beran also asserts that Americans have a stubborn faith in free markets and self-reliance. The Lockheed bailout, the Chrysler bailout, the Mexico bailout, the recent hedge-fund bailout, agricultural subsidies, Social Security, Medicare, tariffs, boycotts of whole countries, and a number of other "controlled" market activities don't appear to me to support the notion that Americans have a stubborn faith in free markets.

Finally, I would disagree with Mr. Beran that the ideal of community is an anemic one. I've known many conservatives in my time who find more to life than simply the glorification of marketeering. Mr. Beran is probably right in suggesting that the ideal of "community" will be insufficient, in itself, to galvanize the Left; but I think that this ideal can appeal to people both on the left and on the right.

Alex Easterbrook
Redwood, Calif.

DERSHOWITZOLOGY

A few words into the first letter to the editor of the March 5 issue ("The use of juvenile name-calling . . ."), I had this funny feeling that the writer was . . . Alan Dershowitz himself. So it was. I'm not a Dershowitzologist or anything—I've never even met the man—but his opening sentence was a classic example of the style of ad hominem argument in which he seems to specialize. And if he's using it to complain about an ad hominem characterization of himself, well, so much the better. The good professor dismisses the critique offered by my *National Journal* colleague Stuart Taylor (who called him "mercenary") on the grounds that he does so much of his rabble-rousing, legal work, and television appearances pro bono. Perhaps Prof. Dershowitz was being overly literal: Surely he's not saying that all this publicity he garners isn't helpful in selling books or generating lecture fees.

Dershowitz also seeks to undermine Taylor's credibility as an impartial judge by referring to him as "conservative." This is a curious description of a journalist who voted for Bill Clinton in 1992, is pro-choice on abortion, is opposed to "mandatory minimums" in criminal sentencing, who defends the inheritance tax, and who wrote a blistering column earlier this year calling for the Senate to reject the nomination of John Ashcroft for attorney general. To some people, apparently including Alan Dershowitz, being a critic of Bill Clinton's character and corruption is enough earn the label "conservative."

While we're on the subject of defending Byron York's piece ("Alan Dershowitz, Goofball," Feb. 5), just who does novelist Richard North Patterson think he's kidding when he says in his March 5 letter that Katherine Harris and the U.S. Supreme Court were guilty of "results-oriented" decisions—and that he'd be *just as concerned* if they had done their deeds to help Al Gore? This is a strange claim, to put it mildly, as there *was* a branch of government that did that very thing in order to help Mr. Gore win the presidency. It was the Florida supreme court's tortured reasoning, which merits no mention from Mr. Patterson, that galvanized Mrs. Harris and seven of the nine U.S. Supreme Court justices to put an end to the Florida recount process.

In my own column last year, I defended the former vice president's right to contest the election returns, so long as his tone was gracious and unifying when, and if, he ultimately threw in the towel. In his concession speech, Mr. Gore was both of those things; perhaps it's time his supporters followed suit.

Carl M. Cannon
Washington, D.C.

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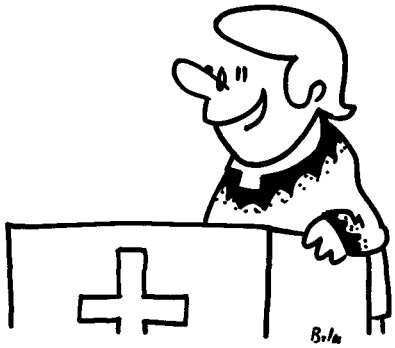
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush** on his budget, in *Washington Post*: "The other point that we need to look at, in which there's some consternation, is the size of discretionary spending. And as you notice in hearing my talks, you'll hear me talk a lot about reasonable, common sense spending of your money . . . by slowing down discretionary spending, by ending the spending orgy." . . . Senate Budget Committee chairman **Pete Domenici** (R., N.M.): "Can we, in fact, do all the things that have been recommended with 4 percent growth? . . . I don't know if we can." . . . Vice President **Cheney**, following heart procedure: "I've signed on for a four-year term, and whether or not [Bush] wants me to serve with him in his second term, that's a decision he'll make at the appropriate time." . . . After **Elizabeth Dole** declines, **John Negroponte** accepts job as U.N. ambassador. . . . Attorney general **John Ashcroft** promises to increase number of Justice Department lawyers working on voting rights by more than 20 percent. . . . Bush moves quickly to fill 100 vacancies on federal courts, with more than 50 candidates screened so far.

■ Sen. **Frank Murkowski** (R., Alaska.) discusses Arctic oil drilling, on Bloomberg Radio: "You've got to recognize, the environmental groups need a cause. . . . You ask them. They just love this issue." . . . Rep. **Jim Turner** (D., Tex.), from the National Rifle Association website: "I don't think you will hear as much about gun control in this Congress as the last." . . . Sen. **Harry Reid** (D., Nev.) on Bush promoting tax bill by barnstorming states with Democratic senators: "It's so tacky." . . . Sen. **Edward Kennedy** (D., Mass.) on ads comparing Bush tax cuts to those of **JFK**: "I think it's rather indecent, personally." . . . Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.), in *Washington Times*: "I think the Democratic Party could not have made a worse choice in choosing **Terry McAuliffe** as chairman of the DNC. He stands in the shade of **Bill Clinton**." Miller also says "Democrats are making a terrible mistake" with "class-warfare talk": "Most of the poor that I know don't have this class envy. They have this desire to move up in the world and into higher income brackets."

■ Congressional Black Caucus chairman Rep. **Eddie Bernice Johnson** (D., Tex.): "I don't know any particular member [of Congress] who plays the race card." . . . Rep. **Major Owens** (D., N.Y.) says plans to restructure the House education subcommittees are endangering black colleges and "going back to the days of separate but equal, where you had one water fountain for colored and one for white people [and] the equal never lasted very long."

■ "I am **Al Gore**, and I used to be the next president of the United States of America," says Gore in Italy. . . . In



". . . And on the Seventh Day, the Lord took a personal *day."*

Zogby poll, 57 percent of New Yorkers say they have "more negative" view of Hillary Clinton since election, and **Rick Lazio** would beat her by 9 points if race were held now. . . . Bill Clinton: "That's why I went to Harlem, because I think I am the first black president." . . . NOW's New York chapter strikes back at Democrats who voted to confirm **John Ashcroft** as attorney general. To Sen. **Russ Feingold** (D., Wisc.), who voted for him as olive branch to administration, it sends 1,000 pounds of Spanish olives. Other Democratic turncoats each get a "few thousand wire hangers." Hangers are also sent to Senate minority leader **Tom Daschle** for refusing to filibuster. . . . **Arnold Schwarzenegger** gives mixed signals on whether he will run for governor of California against Democrat **Gray Davis**. . . . Bush at christening ceremony for U.S.S. *Ronald Reagan*: "She will sail tall and strong, like the man we have known."

■ **Ted Turner**, at CNN party on Ash Wednesday: "I was looking at this woman and I was trying to figure out what was on her forehead. At first I thought you were in the earthquake" in Seattle that day. "[Then] I realized you're just Jesus freaks. Shouldn't you guys be working for Fox?" **Brit Hume** of Fox News was first to report Turner quote. . . . National Science Foundation study says Internet "should not be fielded for use in public elections until substantial technical and social science issues are addressed." . . . New Mexico GOP chairman **John Dendahl** joins Gov. **Gary Johnson** (R.) in supporting marijuana decriminalization. . . . Million Mom March organization, which sponsored anti-gun rally in Washington last year, lays off 30 of 35 employees, reports *New York Times*. . . . Empower.org releases new *Index of Leading Cultural Indicators*. . . . University of California regent **Ward Connerly** boycotts speaking to *Daily Californian* reporters after the school's newspaper apologizes for running ad opposing slavery reparations. . . . **Neal Freeman** named chairman of the White House Fellows Selection Panel in Washington.

■ **Mawlawi Qudratullah Jamal** of Afghanistan's Taliban regime, on smashing massive, 1,500-year-old Buddha statues: "It is easier to destroy than to build." . . . **Augusto Pinochet** cleared of homicide charges and freed from house arrest . . . Church of England's Rev. **Arthur Peacocke** wins Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. . . . Ecuador adopts U.S. dollar as official currency. . . . Quebec swears in new separatist premier, **Bernard Landry**.

■ **Jack Kemp** on a fellow pundit: "Listening to **Mario Cuomo** identify what a Republican should do is like listening to **Evel Knievel** talk about the space program." **NR**

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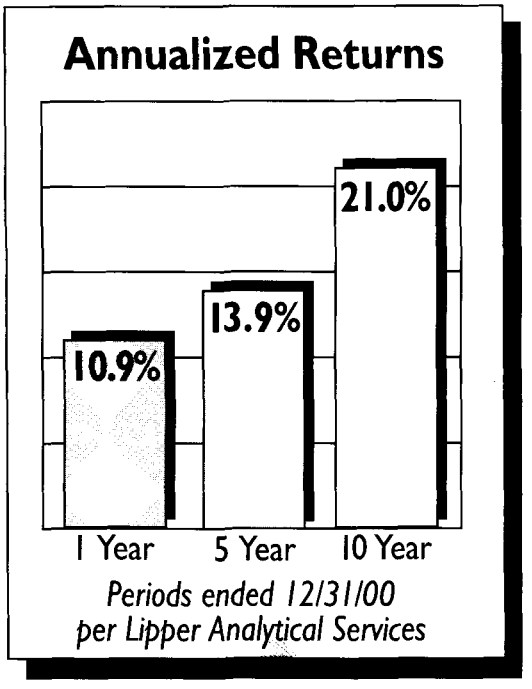

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THE WEEK

■ Did you catch Sen. Robert Byrd on television? Who says all those old crackers became Republicans?

■ Bill Clinton will get three entries in the 17th edition of *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. "I experimented with marijuana a time or two. And I didn't like it, and I didn't inhale . . ." ". . . I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky." And, "It depends on what the meaning of the word 'is' is . . ." A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver, as *Bartlett's* will tell you.

■ Liberal Republican senators, led by Olympia Snowe of Maine, continue to demand that any tax cut include a "trigger" that would stop taxes from falling in any year that the surplus fell too low. It's a bad idea, since it would keep taxes high whenever the economy faltered, and the White House is right to oppose it. But it may be the price of passing the tax cut. Should conservatives be willing to accept a trigger if the alternative is a smaller tax cut? Yes—so long as the trigger is designed to be hard to pull. The president could be given authority to ignore the trigger if he thinks it necessary; or, better yet, the trigger could be incorporated into the Senate budget rules, which nobody ever bothers enforcing. Conservatives should borrow a line from the liberals: No trigger without a trigger lock.

■ The Left is aghast that someone besides Mitch McConnell has noticed that parts of the McCain-Feingold bill are unconstitutional. The *New York Times* has rapped the AFL-CIO ("misguided," "bad for the country") for concluding that the bill's limits on political advertising 60 days before an election are a direct affront to the First Amendment. An article in *The New Republic* suggests the AFL-CIO is foolish to spend time opposing the provision—because it will be struck down by the courts anyway. (Now, *that* reasoning shows an admirable respect for constitutional principle.) The raw politics here is obvious. The unions can't just grandstand now that the legislation might actually pass the Senate, but must seriously consider its consequences. This new scrutiny may be opportunistic, but that doesn't mean the McCain-Feingold bill can withstand it.

■ Al Gore may have lost the Florida recount, but for a moment it seemed that the centerpiece of his environmental agenda would survive. EPA head Christine Todd Whitman said that the Bush administration would—in keeping with a little-noticed campaign pledge at odds with Bush's general program—push legislation to regulate carbon dioxide as part of a "multi-pollutant strategy" to combat global warming. But not so fast: The president soon told senators that he no longer supports the new regulation. This was shrewd backpedaling both politically—given the brewing firestorm on the right—and as a matter of policy. The carbon-dioxide limits would inflate already-high energy prices and further harm the sagging economy. The Bush administration would do better to rely on market pressures to accelerate innovation and encourage greater energy efficiency. That way voters would know that they elected a different shade of green at the ballot box last November.

■ The White House is modifying its plans to aid faith-based charities. Some conservatives, led by Michael Horowitz of the Hudson Institute, had worried that a policy giving federal bureaucrats discretion over which charities got grants would, over time, threaten the independence of churches. John DiIulio, head of the White House initiative, initially responded to these criticisms with unseemly attacks on the critics. But cooler heads have prevailed. The initiative will now place less emphasis on grants, and more on removing regulatory obstacles to charitable work and on tax credits that encourage charitable giving. This seems sensible. Some conservatives had argued there was no reason to worry; we should have faith, they said, that the churches would resist the temptation to sacrifice their freedom for cash. Perhaps they are right. But some temptations are best avoided altogether.

■ Census sampling died a surprisingly quiet death on March 1, when a panel of Census Bureau professionals advised against "adjusting" last year's enumeration to correct a tiny undercount. Sampling is enormously complicated and fraught with risks. Its use might have led to significant errors in congressional apportionment and redistricting, and Republicans were right to object on both political and scientific grounds. Now the fight shifts to the states, which will redraw congressional boundaries based on unadjusted census numbers. In this struggle, it is much less clear that the GOP will be on the right side. During the first Bush administration, many Republicans in the Justice Department worked to gerrymander districts by race, creating some districts that were heavily dominated by minorities in order to "whiten" the others and make them easier for the GOP to win. Now Tom Davis, head of the Republicans' House campaign committee, has said his lawyers will sue any attempt to break up these jurisdictions. It is a toxic calculation that encourages a kind of political segregation: the election of politicians who have little incentive to attract voters of different races. Especially under George W. Bush, the Republicans have been talking about how ardently they desire black votes. If they wish to be taken seriously, they should stop trying to keep black voters out of Republican districts.

■ In recent years, school shootings have been tragedies followed by farce. After each one, politicians have said that the

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Out of the Ice Age?

Robert Conquest is a senior research fellow and scholar-curator of the Russian and Commonwealth of Independent States Collection at the Hoover Institution.

"The cold war is over" One sometimes hears this put forward with the implication that there is no more to be said on the subject and nothing to be learned from it. But, of course, events do not cease to be of significance because they belong to the past. **The cold war's effects are very much with us in two major spheres.**

First, the Russia that has emerged, since Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze abandoned the unappeasable and total claims of the Soviet regime in 1991, has only had ten years to start recuperating.

In Russia, a centuries-old tradition of despotism and imperialism was greatly enhanced by seventy years of continual physical and mental terror. Even the most liberal of the Russian intelligentsia speak of the distortion their minds still feel. As to the less liberal, recent events have left them with the imperialist idea of "Russian greatness" as their only conceptual refuge. In the early 1990s, Russian leaders were frank and clear about the issues of the cold war. That has changed—as is strikingly illustrated in a recent issue of *International Affairs* (which is in effect an organ of the Russian foreign ministry), where a long, unsigned conspectus of the past century has a sequence of such interpretations as,

> *The first steps toward a cold war were made by the United States, which would not like to see East Europe falling under Soviet influence.... The Truman Doctrine was one of the United States' first practical steps in the unleashing of the cold war....The Marshall Plan Talks on the program were at first attended by the USSR but it dropped out since Moscow was asked to pull out of East Europe, something the Soviet leaders could not agree to do. The Marshall Plan in fact initiates a split of Europe after the war.... The Warsaw Pact was founded by representatives of eight East European socialist countries who signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. It formed a worthy counterbalance to NATO.*

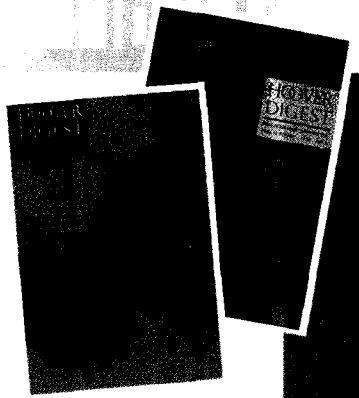
This shows a very nasty mood in Russian foreign policy circles—back to anti-Western misinformation and degeneration into worldwide troublemaking. Our own foreign policy makers have been aware of moods in Moscow.

But, of course, that false view is also found in the West. The CNN television series on the cold war, with Joseph Stalin balanced by Joseph McCarthy, Kennedy worse than Castro, was a large-scale example. But this type of thing is also to be found in a whole series of products of the academic presses that misrepresent the whole communist phenomenon—the educated media in general, apart from the CNN debacle, being less susceptible.

Such misleading attitudes can only have a bad effect on the informed Western citizen's grasp of today's problems and on the political circles that formulate policies. **Ignorance of history is bad enough but especially on these issues.** Thus, on these interpolated fronts, in Russia and the West, the cold war is still very much a burning issue.

— Robert Conquest

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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shooting makes it more urgent than ever to pass new gun controls, even if the specific controls recommended are unrelated to the shooting's circumstances. But the latest two episodes—in Santee, Calif. and Williamsport, Pa.—have not followed the script. This time, politicians have been silent on gun control. Even die-hard controllers such as Sen. Charles Schumer, the New York Democrat, merely called for gun owners and the NRA to devise a voluntary "code of responsibility" for gun-owning households. Are we witnessing an outbreak of common sense? Probably not. Democrats are running from the gun issue because it hurt them in November. While the public continues to favor some regulations on gun ownership, voters who oppose such regulations were far more likely to vote on the issue than the supporters were. The issue probably kept a few states from going for Al Gore. And even in the Senate races, where Republicans did poorly, gun-rights activists were able to cut their losses—two of the new Democrats in the Senate are allies. Democratic skittishness has been noted in articles marked by denial, alarm, and heartbreak; reporters' zeal for gun control has not diminished even if that of politicians has. But sooner or later it may dawn on the press that the reason the gun lobby is so successful is not that it has millions of dollars and lobbying muscle—but that it speaks for millions of people.

■ After the shootings, grief counselors arrived on the scene to enact their prescribed drill: running compulsory group sessions designed to elicit expressions of woe. The theory on which grief counselors operate holds that, after some catastrophe, the emotions of pain and fear must immediately be vented, lest they fester in the psyche. The theory is questionable—people grieve in different ways, and at different rates—as is the notion that professional counselors provide the only means of release: Human society developed mourning rituals long before the first Master of Social Work degree was awarded. Death is tough enough without strangers telling us to say how tough it is.

■ The night riders of the Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy are in full gallop, or so says the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who stood perspiring before television cameras on March 8 and declared that latter-day Kluxers are hot on his trail. Who are these racists? Why, Fox News, the *New York Post*, the two Chicago dailies—all of which have been breaking stories related to Jackson's peculiar financial arrangements—and especially the National Legal and Policy Center, which has filed a complaint with the IRS, requesting an audit of Jackson's organizations. And no wonder people are interested: There are scores of irregularities and suspicious omissions on the tax returns of the Rev.'s non-profit Citizenship Education Fund—including, as Jackson was forced to admit, the six-figure salary of his mistress Karin Stanford ("An oversight," said Jackson). There is also the matter of Jackson's lucrative relationship with major corporations, many of which were publicly denounced as racially insensitive—until they made hefty contributions to the CEF and became the reverend's—how shall we put this?—prayer partners. "They don't relate to us out of fear, they relate to us out of hope," Jackson said, Corleoneishly. The cagey cleric is certainly right about one thing: Having gotten away for years with behavior that would have had most any other public figure indicted, Jackson has demonstrated in his career that equal treatment under the law really *is* an unrealized ideal in America.

Some Tax-Cutters

Olympia Snowe's at the railing,
Upchucking and rocking the boat,
While Specter, a rowing disaster,
Has opted, like Noah, to float.
With Jeffords declaiming like Ahab
And Chafee's sea chanteys the kind
The sullen perform in the foc'sle
This lot needs a boot from behind.

—W. H. von Dreele

■ In an infamous hoax, Al Sharpton accused Steve Pagones, an upstate New York assistant DA, of participating in the gang-rape and torture of Tawana Brawley. The story was utterly false, and Pagones, after a decade-long struggle, won a judgment against Sharpton in court. Sharpton has never paid up, claiming a poverty that does not prevent him from appearing in excellent suits. In March, two senators—Hillary Rodham Clinton and Jon Corzine—met with Sharpton to discuss racial profiling (not, needless to say, Sharpton's of whites). Couldn't they have found a liberal black spokesman who wasn't a scoundrel? Steve Pagones lives in New York; Sharpton, despite the fact that he crosses the Hudson to engage in urban renewal, lives in New Jersey. Would it be too much to ask Sen. Clinton to defend her law-abiding constituents, and Sen. Corzine to avoid his law-breaking ones?

■ President Bush signed a bill repealing "ergonomics" regulations, ending a decade-long debate. Supporters, including the unions, said that these regulations would protect workers from contracting disorders such as carpal-tunnel syndrome, and that they would increase productivity by far more than their $4.2 billion annual cost. Industry groups estimated that the costs were as much as 15 times higher, but the regulations made no sense even on the supporters' own assumptions: If businesses would be better off adopting them, they have every reason to do so voluntarily. Most congressmen always opposed the regulations, which is why President Clinton decided to impose them only as he was on his way out the door. Their repeal is an example of the good that can come from a White House not beholden to Big Labor.

■ For a while, it looked as though the anti-tobacco lawyers were going to get away with being paid as much as $200,000 an hour for their work—even though many of the lawsuits they filed were risk-free, either because they were copycat suits or because the lawyers had convinced a state legislature to

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change the law to ensure their victory. To be sure, the law of every state mandates that fees not "violate fiduciary responsibilities by being excessive," and that mandate is written into every fee agreement. But who was going to enforce the law? The lawyers were going to receive anywhere from $3 billion to $10 billion, the largest per capita wealth transfer in American history. They would be able to use the money to finance raids on other industries and to buy more courts and legislatures. But Mitch Daniels, head of President Bush's budget office, may upset those plans. The new budget proposes to apply to the anti-tobacco lawyers the same rule that applies to pension-fund trustees and foundation executives: If their fees are so high as to violate fiduciary duties, they have to pay $2 in tax for every excess dollar. Sorry, guys: You're going to have to settle for $3,000 an hour.

■ President Bush has temporarily averted a strike at Northwest Airlines by appointing a "presidential emergency board" to help break the impasse in negotiations between labor and management. Bush's intervention is probably justified on economic grounds, particularly given the weak economy. It was to prevent serious disruption of the economy that the U.S. president was given the power to intervene in this manner. And while a strike at Northwest alone probably would not meet this test, there is a danger that increasingly contentious labor disputes in the airline industry will lead to simultaneous strikes at Northwest, United, American, and Delta. That *would* hurt the economy. Still, this is a presidential power that should be used sparingly. Barring strikes strengthens management's hand, and, in general, presidents should avoid taking sides in labor disputes. Bush is walking a thin line.

■ In an entirely predictable turnabout, American forces in the Balkans are now being asked to confront the Kosovar Albanians whom they originally were charged with protecting. The chief virtue of the Kosovo Liberation Army, a violent nationalist outfit with more than its share of drug-runners and pimps, was always that it was being persecuted by the Serbs. With Milosevic no longer making them "freedom fighters" in the minds of the West, the Kosovar Albanians are trying to carve chunks out of Serbia and Macedonia, while agitating for the independence of Kosovo—all of which the U.S. military is supposed to resist. This makes no sense. The United States has no strategic interest in the ultimate political disposition of Macedonia or Kosovo. That U.S. troops might be drawn into the fighting over such questions is a scandal of sloppy thinking. Liberals hope U.S. troops will help impose a liberal pluralist vision on the region, captured by the plaint: "Can't we all just get along?" In the Balkans, the answer is, "No." Harder-headed defenders of the U.S. commitment say America has a longstanding interest in the "stability" of Europe. So it does—but this has always meant helping Europe rebuff domination by hegemonic powers. The thuggish little KLA hardly qualifies as such a power. Bush repeatedly pledged during the campaign to keep U.S. troops far from any muddleheaded efforts at "nation building." So what are G.I.'s doing still patrolling the borders of Macedonia?

■ The United States has made aid to the new Yugoslav government conditional on its "ultimately cooperating" with the Hague war-crimes tribunal "on international charges" against Milosevic. The formulations combine principle with a measure of prudence: We do not require Belgrade to seize the ex-dictator immediately, but we expect him to be sent to the Netherlands in due time. Is the principle of extradition wise? Yugoslavia was not a country so wedded to its despot that it had to be crushed and occupied, as was Nazi Germany. After losing the Kosovo war, Milosevic lost his popular support, and the Serbian people removed him from office, and now tell pollsters that they want to punish him for both domestic and war crimes. Surely they should be allowed to do so. Nation states have sustained many a monster over the last four centuries; still, the nation state has been the only effective nexus of rights in the modern world. The world needs better nations—not international bodies modeled on the medieval Church, but without the Church's convictions.

■ Aside from being an act of disgraceful vandalism, the destruction of those monumental statues of Buddha by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan has great symbolic importance. The region now partly occupied by the modern nation of Afghanistan was, in ancient times, a great crossroads of peoples, cultures, and faiths. At the eastern extreme of Alexander's conquests, its inhabitants had, by 200 B.C., been thoroughly Hellenized. Its cities—Milton uses their names to make a wonderful line of blank verse in *Paradise Regained*—contained a corps of intellectuals who set about doing with the pure Buddhism of their neighbor Asoka what another group of Greek-speakers would later do with Judaism in Palestine. When, in 138 B.C., an emissary from the Emperor of China arrived in the region, all the great literate civilizations of the world were in contact for the first time. The results were far-reaching, and still astonish those to whom they are pointed out. The iconography of Chinese Buddhism, for example, is basically Greek. Conversely, Lord Buddha himself found his way into the Christian Calendar of Saints. (See the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat in any encyclopedia of Christianity. Lord Buddha's saint's day is November 27 in the Roman calendar.) Those statues stood as testimony to a great meeting of people and minds. Their shattered remains are evidence of something darker: the everlasting power of ignorance and obscurantism.

■ Proponents of "diversity" must love Indonesia, which is blessed with 300 different ethnic groups speaking 250 languages. Javanese Muslims, Balinese Hindus, Portuguese-speaking Christians, and Buddhist Chinese jostle with headhunting forest tribes in a nation whose official slogan is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*—"Unity in Diversity." Held together for fifty years by two military dictators confusingly named Sukarno and Suharto, Indonesia—the fourth most populous country in the world—has been slowly disintegrating since Suharto stepped down after the 1998 financial crisis. It has now reached the stage of separatist violence and racial pogroms. The parallel with Yugoslavia is obvious, and has been pointed out many times. It is, however, unlikely that the

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present disorders in Indonesia will excite the same levels of concern in the councils of the great as Yugoslavia's troubles did. It is equally unlikely that they will raise any doubts in the minds of those who preach the benefits of "multiculturalism" to us. A nation like Indonesia, born with many cultures already in residence, must make the best of things. More fortunate countries, that have long practiced assimilation into a single common culture, would be foolish to start down the road to multiculturalism.

■ Fidel Castro started his career in the American mind as a hipster icon, an Oedipal poke in the eye of Eisenhower America. If you want to fix the cultural moment, think of someone like Norman Mailer calling him something like existential. For years that image lingered. But now, even as official hostility toward Cuba has faded, so has Castro's cool. Perhaps the turning point came when the hip caste noticed that the Castro regime persecutes gays. It has reached the point that David Letterman has been mocking Leslie Moonves, a CBS executive, for meeting Castro on an entertainment-industry junket to Cuba. Letterman imagined the following chat. CASTRO: "Les, I have starved my countrymen and tortured and murdered my political opponents." MOONVES: "The Bette Midler show was my idea." Maybe Fidel will finally go into reruns.

■ Conservative author David Horowitz caused a stir when he tried to place in university newspapers an advertisement opposing the idea of reparations for slavery. The ad makes a commonsense case: Not all blacks are descendants of slaves, few whites owned slaves and thousands died to end slavery, etc. When it ran at UC-Berkeley, protesters ranted outside the *Daily Cal*'s offices and trashed the remaining papers. The editors then apologized for allowing the paper to "become an inadvertent vehicle for bigotry." Editors at UC-Davis and Arizona State groveled similarly. As we go to press, the ad has run in only eight papers and has been rejected by eighteen (including one, at Notre Dame, that ran a Holocaust denier's ad several years ago). Of course, publications are free to reject any ads they wish. But it says something that *university newspapers* feel so squeamish about one ad expressing an opinion shared by almost 80 percent of Americans (according to an ABC poll). In an e-mail, Berkeley administrator John Cummins chastised Horowitz for even bringing up the subject: "No demand for 'dialogue' existed prior to your effort to provoke it." Of course, that is precisely the problem.

■ New York City cops now think a gun battle outside a local hip-hop station that left one man slightly wounded was a dispute between the entourages of Lil' Kim and Foxy Brown, two rap chanteuses who dis each other as part of their shtick. Could a segregationist of the Fifties have imagined anything more lurid? Two black professional sex objects exchange insults, and their attendant goons exchange bullets. Except it's not a doodle in a Klan newsletter, but business as usual in a multimillion-dollar industry, as well as the source of Ph.D. dissertations on the construction of sexuality and power. You go, girls.

■ The Intercollegiate Studies Institute has become an important factor in the world of book publishing, making available both classics and new books of enduring importance. Its Spring 2001 catalogue lists, for example, *Shakespeare as Political Thinker*, a collection of essays by modern scholars writing from that perspective on the plays, and *At War with the Word: Literary Theory and Liberal Education* by R. V. Young, the title of which precisely describes deconstruction and other fads. There are new and reissued books on Hayek, Mises, Burke, and others, a very useful reissue of Allen Tate's essays, and so on. Forthcoming, and of particular interest to NR readers, is Daniel Kelly's definitive biography of James Burnham.

■ The story of Harold Stassen's early life had much to commend it. Finished high school at 15; married his childhood sweetheart; governor of Minnesota at age 31; wartime volunteer in the U.S. Navy. In 1948 he challenged Thomas Dewey for the Republican nomination, favoring liberal spending programs, but also the banning of the Communist party (Stassen's second in a debate with Dewey was Sen. Joseph McCarthy). Stassen lost the nomination—then something went horribly wrong. After minor roles in the Eisenhower administration, he started running for president again. He was a joke, then an old joke, then an old joke that required explanation. Thousands of Americans are Elvis impersonators; he became a presidential-candidate impersonator. The story, sad enough, would be merely personal except that the persona has been used by a host of other candidates, from Jesse Jackson to Pat Buchanan to Ralph Nader. Dead at 93, Stassen is removed to a world beyond press conferences, and the temptation to give them.

■ The first day of April is the centennial of the birth of Whittaker Chambers, who was born in 1901 and died in 1961. He was a heroic figure in the struggle for the world of the 20th century. His witness fired a great torch. It was given as formal testimony before a congressional committee, in a court of law, and after that in his classic autobiography. In addition, he was, briefly, a senior editor of this magazine, to whose editor he showed a special friendship never adequately requited. If the United States had a Soviet-style great wall circling our Capitol, celebrating the great names of Western patriots, Chambers's name would loom high because he had the courage to act, and the poetic resources to indite a great epic in the name of the Western cause of liberty.

TAX CUTS

Objections Overruled

LIBERALS are making three chief arguments against President Bush's tax cut: that it is unaffordable, that it is unfair, and that it would not do much to stimulate our slumping economy. The first two charges are unpersuasive, and the third, while true, points to a different conclusion from the one the liberals draw.

First, affordability. Democrats say that it's unwise to count

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on the projections that there will be $5.6 trillion in surplus revenues over the next ten years. The surpluses could come in much lower than that. It's true that ten-year projections are not very reliable and that small changes in the assumptions would produce very different figures. But the estimate that the tax cut would cost the federal government $1.6 trillion over ten years depends on many of the same assumptions and is equally unreliable. There are, moreover, good reasons for thinking that $5.6 trillion is a cautious, even pessimistic, estimate.

It assumes, for one thing, that the economy will grow by an average of 3.2 percent a year over the next ten years. The blue-chip economic forecasters say 3.4 percent is more likely. That may not sound like a big difference, but the blue-chip number would increase the surplus by $500 billion. In addition, the president's budget assumes that income-tax revenues will grow more slowly than the economy over the next ten years. That would be highly unusual. Revenues usually grow faster than the economy because of the progressive tax structure: Growth moves people into higher tax brackets. Adjusting this assumption could easily yield another trillion. The federal forecasters are probably underestimating capital-gains revenues by a few hundred billion dollars, too.

Is President Bush underestimating how much Congress will spend? Critics say that his proposed 4 percent increase in discretionary spending is unrealistic because it does not keep pace with inflation and population growth. But why should NASA's funding go up every time someone crosses the Rio Grande? Republican aides on the Senate Budget Committee have calculated that at least 73 percent of discretionary spending is in no way tied to population. Whether Washington can restrain its spending appetite is, of course, ultimately a political question. But as a matter of economics and accounting, Bush's budget adds up.

The fairness argument is harder to answer because it is more amorphous. Citizens for Tax Justice, a liberal group, says that 43 percent of Bush's tax cut would go to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans. But what percentage would meet the critics' definition of "fair"? And like almost all such calculations, this one is entirely static. A mechanic's wage might be higher in 2010 because the tax cut helped the economy, but that added wealth does not count as a benefit for CTJ. There is also a technical problem with the figure: It assumes that dead people would get benefits from Bush's tax cut. It attributes all the benefits from ending the estate tax to the wealthy, since they are the ones who leave taxable estates. But the operative word here is "leave": It's the heirs, not all of them wealthy, who get the benefit. Throw out that part of the calculation, and the richest 1 percent get about a third of the dollar value of the tax cut—which is just about the same as the proportion of income taxes they pay. Sounds fair to us.

Some liberals concede that Bush's income-tax cut leaves the distribution of the income-tax burden unchanged. But then they say that the tax cut is still unfair, because it cuts income taxes rather than payroll taxes, which fall more heavily on the poor. Even if the rich pay the same share of income taxes, then, they will pay a lower share of all federal taxes. It is an ingenious criticism. What it ignores is that payroll taxes are dedicated to Social Security and Medicare. That's something of a fiction—tax money is tax money, and it all mingles in the Treasury wherever it came from. But it is a fiction that liberals, more than anyone else, have constructed. They invoke it even now, when they claim that Bush's tax cut threatens the "Social Security surplus." But if liberals now want the payroll tax to be cut, by all means, we should do it—as soon as they sign on to Social Security reform.

Actually, expanding the tax cut would be a good response to the third and strongest criticism: that it would not help the economy any time soon. The House passed a version of Bush's bill that cuts taxes by a paltry $5.6 billion in the year 2001. Lawrence Lindsey, the president's top economic adviser, is saying that he wishes the tax cut could be designed to take effect faster. The most he will claim for the tax cut as written is that "it could help" the economy.

That's the criticism that ought to worry President Bush. His political health ultimately will not depend on which of the made-up numbers being thrown around in D.C. turn out to be true, on which budget baseline is adopted or how the distribution tables look. It will depend on the health of the economy and public perceptions about how much he has done to ensure it. The economy would be better off with a bigger, faster tax cut, and so would he.

THE CENSUS

Minority Report

THE 2000 census, its numbers crunched at last, shows that Hispanics have drawn practically even with blacks as an American minority. In 1990, there were 30 million blacks in America and 22.4 million Hispanics. Now, there are 36.4 million blacks and 35.3 million Hispanics. This statistical photo finish got big play—and deserved it. The consequences for America's course are profound.

As all history textbooks now tell our students, the first black slaves in what would become the Thirteen Colonies arrived in Virginia in the early 17th century. But by that time, Spain had long explored the southern portions of North America, and had garrisons from Florida to Santa Fe. Throughout the 19th century, a host of Americans, from Aaron Burr to Davy Crockett to Teddy Roosevelt, schemed and fought to acquire pieces of this empire. Some Americans wanted even more than we got—President Grant tried to buy what is now the Dominican Republic. The broad story seemed very simple: Spain was an incompetent power, as was the successor state of Mexico. The United States took and bought what it needed, and gave it liberty and good government. The story, it seems, has a coda. Spain's empire vanished—except for its people, more and more of whom wish to enjoy the benefits of *El Norte*.

History never stays in the history books. The meta-story of slavery and emancipation affects politics today, from racial profiling to the career of Colin Powell. At the same time, the

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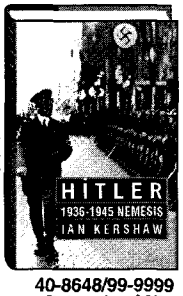

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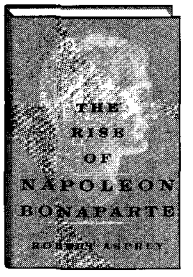

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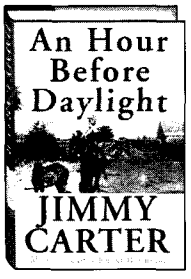

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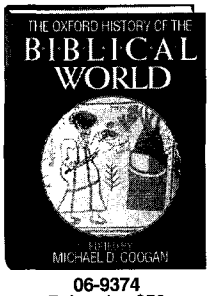

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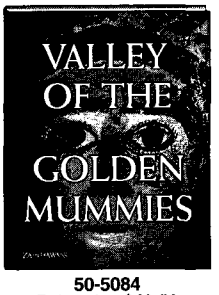

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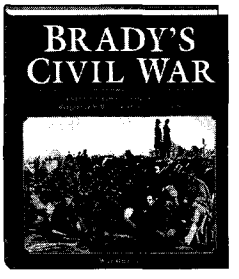

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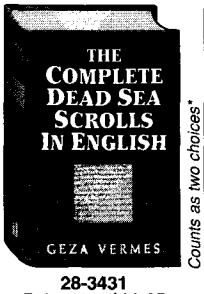

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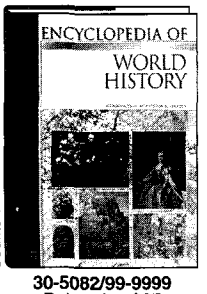

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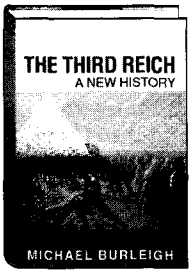

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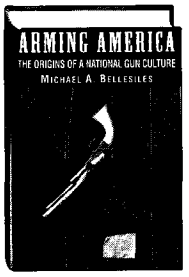

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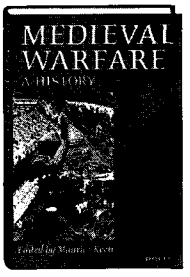

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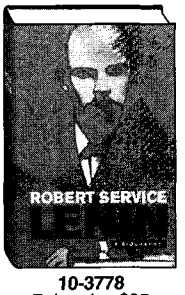

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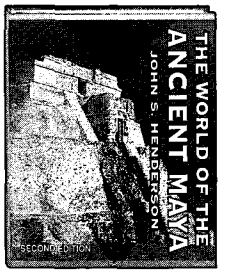

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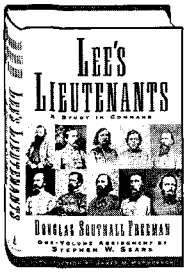

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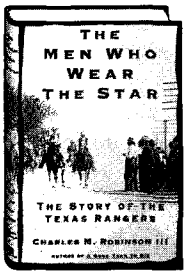

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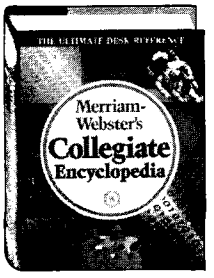

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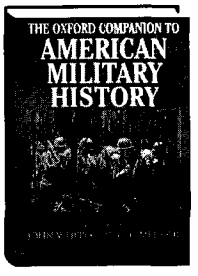

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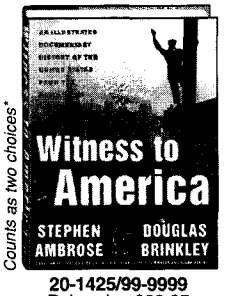

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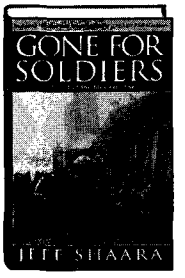

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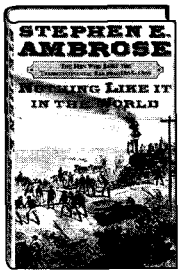

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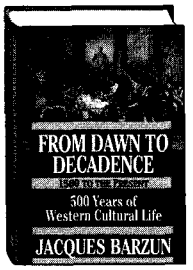

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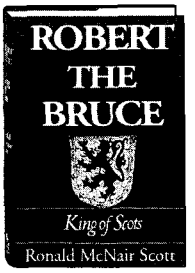

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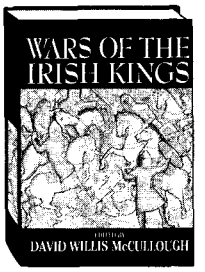

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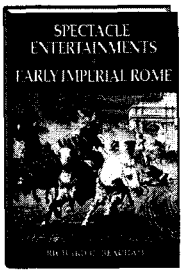

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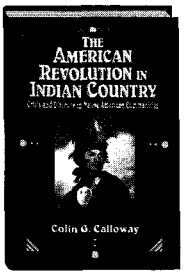

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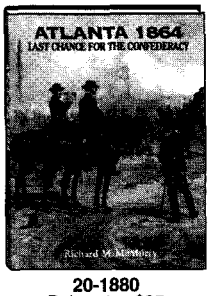

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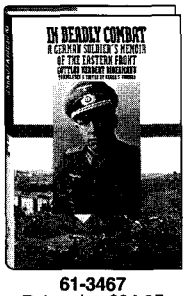

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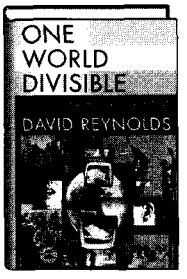

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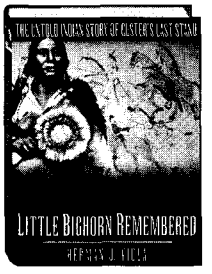

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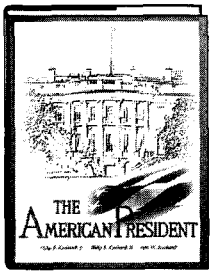

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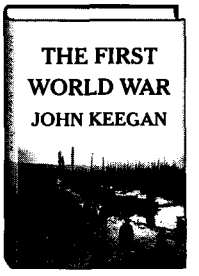

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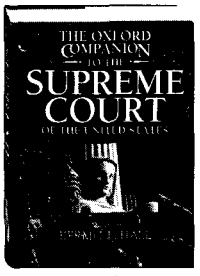

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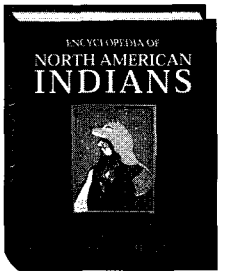

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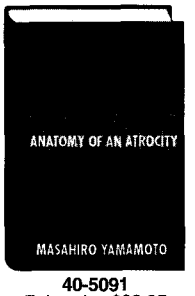

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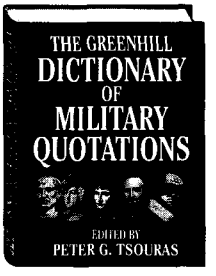

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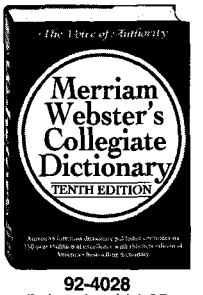

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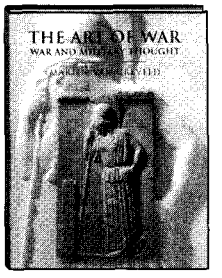

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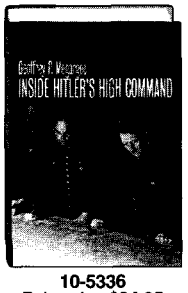

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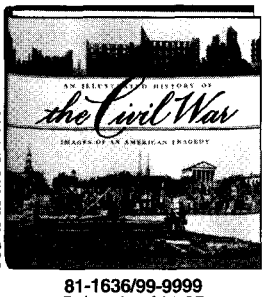

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present goes back to history, highlighting the previously ignored back-stories of current events. Even if the numbers of Hispanic-Americans only hold steady, all Americans will be looking a lot more at the *Maine* and the Alamo.

But the present also controls the future. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and Mexicans—linked by a bureaucratic category as "Hispanics"—do not have much in common with each other, unless a common identity is fabricated here. Assimilation may make them as indistinct as the Scotch-Irish (how many people know that Andrew Jackson's parents were immigrants?) or as distinct as Old Order Amish—depending on what the incentives and the will to assimilate are.

The present has a direct impact on the censuses of 2010 and 2020. The spike in Hispanic numbers was not the product of great fecundity, nor of invasion and conquest. American laws allowed people from Mexico and the Caribbean to come here in greater numbers than before, or amnestied them after they came illegally. Neither the laws nor the numbers are written in stone. To speed the assimilation of immigrants, and to better their wages and working conditions, the United States should restrict the currently high inflow. Hispanics come here because it is better than home. It will stay attractive as long as less than everyone comes.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Bill: You and friend Brown ["Notes & Asides," Feb. 5] are both wrong.

The *Nicomachean Ethics* was not written by Aristotle, but by another man with the same name. And how do we know that the other man did not have a ghostwriter? Or that the ghostwriter did not have a ghostwriter?

In *Troilus and Cressida* the old men of Troy are debating whether to send Helen back to her husband. Suddenly, they see her from afar, and are so overwhelmed by her beauty that they prefer death and destruction to giving her up.

Hector overhears this and lectures them: "You gloze, like young men whom Aristotle thought unfit to hear moral philosophy."

If Hector could quote Aristotle 800 years before he was born—and the Fool in *Lear* can say, "This prophecy shall Merlin make, I come before his time"—who knows when or by whom anything was written?

Hoping this clarifies everything once and for all,

Harry V. Jaffa
Professor Emeritus
Claremont College
Claremont, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Your magazine used the word *propagandistic*. Would *propagandic* serve the same purpose?

Propagandic is listed in *Webster's* 2nd New International, but not in the 3rd. Was it done away with? It seems to work better.

Sincerely,
Chris Deile
Asheville, N.C.

Dear Mr. Deile: If *propagandic* is in *Webster's* 2nd, and I take your word for it, don't disturb it. It should not be roused from the zoo section of the dictionary.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: You are my last hope of resolving my dilemma. I have a question that's driving me nuts.

When a book is advertised for sale, the title is listed, the author, the number of pages, and the price.

Here's my question: Why is the number of pages signified by two lower-case p's? Why not pg., or, better yet, pgs.? Why pp.?

Please help. No one else has been able to.

Sincerely,
Harry R. Schaub
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Mr. Schaub: If there is a period and the letters are lower case (pp.), you get *pages*. With p.p., *postpaid*. If there is no period (pp), you get *pianissimo*. I don't know how the abbreviation generated; on the other hand, I don't know how *Mr.* was generated. Sorry.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The Bush–Gore imbroglio has proven the inadequacy of our modern election methods. The time has come for someone to champion a return to the Roman custom of haruspicy—if only someone had the guts to suggest it. Are you up to it?

G. P. Lucchetti
Oak Park, Ill.

Dear Mr. Lucchetti: Fascinating idea, though some people would find that a violation of the First Amendment. Spoilsports.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: It has always been my understanding that the Supreme Court's purpose is to interpret the Constitution. A court made up of nine intelligent people should not be coming up with 5–4 decisions. Surely an interpretation should be more nearly unanimous.

Edwin Appel
Sabillasville, Md.

Dear Mr. Appel: But why? Consider the need to interpret the First Amendment's free-speech guarantee. Why couldn't five justices opine that the guarantee doesn't stretch to shelter *Deep Throat*, while four take the more comprehensive view? There are lots of situations in which reasonable men differ, so why shouldn't they differ in interpreting interpretable passages in the Constitution?

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ POLITICS ■

Ganging Up on the Tax Cut

A curious coalition against Bush

BYRON YORK

ACCORDING to its mission statement, the purpose of the National Parent-Teacher Association is three-fold: to "support and speak on behalf of children and youth in the schools," to "assist parents in developing the skills they need to raise and protect their children," and to "encourage parent and public involvement in the public schools of this nation." It's a responsibility that PTA officials, who oversee 26,000 local chapters across the country, take very seriously. And it's something that transcends politics. "We are a non-partisan group," says spokeswoman Claudia Soldano. "We don't take political sides on issues."

But these days the PTA is taking a very political side on a very political issue. The organization has joined something called the "Fair Taxes for All" coalition, an aggregation of hundreds of liberal interest groups opposed to George W. Bush's proposal to cut taxes. Led by People for the American Way, which most recently spearheaded the attack on the nomination of John Ashcroft to be attorney general, the coalition is crowded with deep-pocket labor organizations like the AFL-CIO, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of Teachers, and many more. Their presence ensures a well-financed grass-roots operation capable of delivering millions of phone calls, letters, and e-mails to legislators who might be inclined to support the president.

The coalition also includes many groups that aren't known for their work on tax issues. There's the NAACP, the Sierra Club, the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the American Association of People with Disabilities, and the National Council of La Raza. There's the YWCA. The National Gray Panthers. Even the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League. Why are they involved?

Ralph Neas by David Smith

In part, because People for the American Way asked—and asked and asked—them to join the effort. "They did extensive outreach to groups that don't normally participate in these issues," says Arthur Padilla of the Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League. "They sent me letters, e-mails, faxes, and phone calls." Other groups say the anti-tax-cut effort is a natural extension of their work. "The reason we are a member of the coalition is that it is of utmost importance to us that women and their families are treated equitably," says Khristina Lew, spokeswoman for the YWCA. (The organization's guiding principle, according to its mission statement, is "to empower women and girls and to eliminate racism.") Claudia Soldano of the PTA agrees: "We want to make sure that anything that is put through maintains appropriate levels of funding for child-advocacy efforts."

There are other, simpler, explanations for some of the groups' involvement. According to a new analysis by the conservative Capital Research Center, many of the organizations in the coalition receive enormous amounts of money from the federal government. The National Council of La Raza, for example, has taken in almost $10 million in federal grants in the last five years. The AFL-CIO took in about $6.7 million. The National Education Association, $4.4 million. And the League of Women Voters got almost $2.5 million. Others took in smaller but still quite significant amounts. With so much money at stake, cutting taxes might directly affect their futures.

But the most compelling reason driving the coalition goes beyond narrowly economic concerns. In a larger sense, many of the groups involved simply cannot afford to let George W. Bush win. A Republican victory on taxes, they believe, could pave the way for a string of GOP triumphs in the next four years. The activists fear a repeat of the 1980s, when they faced a Republican president who was determined to do a few big things—the first of which was to reduce taxes.

It's a bad trip into the past for people like Ralph Neas, head of People for the American Way, who says his group is working so hard on the tax issue because of the lingering memory of losing to Ronald Reagan. "The Right accomplished something very important in 1981," Neas explains. "There were massive tax cuts, increased defense spending, and for the next 13 or 14 years, there was not enough money for investment in vital domestic priorities like health care, public education, and many other things." While Neas's position ignores the staggering increases in across-the-board federal spending that occurred throughout the 1980s, it does neatly summarize the coalition's collective memory of what they would call the Reagan Nightmare.

Driven by that fear, the core elements

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of the coalition came together even before it became fully clear that George W. Bush would be president. "Back in November, a number of us started meeting to think through what might lie ahead," Neas recalls. "What we were thinking about is that there are two things which just transcend everything else. One is the Supreme Court. The other is what happened in 1981. This time around, we said, 'We can't let this happen again. We're going to organize, and we're going to organize early.'"

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It's hard to escape the conclusion that Republicans have the edge over Neas's coalition, at least right now.

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The new movement was briefly sidetracked by the Ashcroft nomination. After President Bush announced his choice for attorney general on December 22, Neas and Wade Henderson, head of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, put together an instant coalition of what Neas calls "the civil-rights community, the environmental community, the choice community, and others." They flexed their muscles, and within a few days of the nomination, People for the American Way delivered to Congress 150,000 anti-Ashcroft petitions with signatures collected through the Internet. It worked, to a point: The anti-Ashcroft forces got 42 votes in the Senate, widely seen as a warning to Bush that Senate Democrats can stop future presidential initiatives if they choose.

After the vote, the Neas group got back to its original business, and the makeshift Ashcroft coalition morphed into a larger, stronger, and better organized anti-tax-cut coalition. But now they're doing battle with more than just the Bush White House; facing them on the other side is a pro-tax-cut coalition that is willing to settle for less tax-cutting than many members want in order to give Bush a victory. "Would I like a bigger tax cut? Absolutely," says Grover Norquist, head of Americans for Tax Reform and leader of the group. "Would Steve Moore and the Club for Growth like a bigger tax cut? Absolutely. But we are for the president's bill. We recognize that passing that bill largely as is opens the door to expanding 401(k)s and IRAs, reducing capital gains, and getting rid of some of the unfair taxes on the business community."

Norquist has assembled a coalition that is far more coherent in its organization and philosophy than Neas's crazy quilt. And the tax-cutters have convinced many traditional Republican pro-business organizations that if they support Bush's plan now, they'll have a better chance of getting more in the future. "Those people whose tax interests will be brought to the fore next year will be those people who played an important and serious role in this year's tax cut," Norquist says. "If you want to cut taxes on wine distributors next year, what you ought to do as the Wine Distributors Association is be a leader in the Bush tax cut."

So the battle is on, sexual minorities on one side and wine distributors on the other. As large, rich, and extraordinarily diverse as Neas's coalition is, it's hard to escape the conclusion that Republicans have the edge, at least right now. It's their issue, and their president. And for all the bluster about Ronald Reagan, the liberals' hearts do not seem fully in the fight. While Ralph Neas is happy to talk at length about the dangers of cutting taxes, he becomes truly animated only when he comes round to the other topic that brought the coalition together in the first place: the Supreme Court. A tax fight is fine, but a Supreme Court nomination would be Armageddon. And what a coalition he could build for that! Indeed, once he gets started on the Court, Neas has to be gently nudged back to the subject of taxes.

Talk of the Court inevitably leads Neas—again—to the 1980s, when he and his allies won their greatest victory by defeating the nomination of Robert Bork. "An epic confrontation," Neas says with a touch of nostalgia. Although he won't come right out and say it, one gets the impression that defeating Bush's tax-cut proposal wouldn't give him the same thrill. Which means that the president might win this one not just because he is right but because his opponents are looking too far into the future—and the past. **NR**

■ POLITICS II ■

Rumbles Right and . . . Right

Conservative worries about W.

KATE O'BEIRNE

How smitten are conservatives with George W. Bush? One famously unsparing activist, Paul Weyrich, recently told the *New York Times*, "I personally love this president." Conservatives have been quite happy with the administration's center-right course, rooting for it in its dealings with a closely divided Congress. But several trouble spots are developing. Conservatives are beginning to express concerns about the administration on taxes, education, the environment, and the president's faith-based initiative.

The concerns about Bush's tax-cut proposal are both tactical and substantive. Since he unveiled his tax-cut program on the campaign trail, the surplus has grown and the economy has weakened. Conservatives in the House have responded to these developments by proposing a larger package that takes effect faster. But Bush has said the tax cut shouldn't get any bigger, and Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill has even joked that Bush might fire him if Congress passes deeper tax cuts. So with a bigger tax bill in the House ruled out, the president is left negotiating with senators who want a smaller one. The plan can only shrink. Conservative discontent has mainly been confined to the op-ed pages and the Hill, but it could spread to the grass roots. Already, Rush Limbaugh has warned, "They are watering down this cut to the point it isn't a cut." Conservatives may grow more restive when they hear that the administration has signaled that it would accept less than a full repeal of the death tax, despite the fact that Congress com-

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fortably passed a repeal in its last session.

Pro-family activists and their supporters in Congress have principled objections to Bush's version of marriage-penalty relief, which provides a 10 percent deduction for two-earner couples, but no relief for single-earner families. Phyllis Schlafly labels the result a "homemaker penalty," courtesy of the Bush White House. Although Congress last year approved a bill extending relief to all married couples, the administration continues to insist on its own version. A top conservative aide in the House sees a fight ahead—one the White House will lose. "We don't have a choice, we have to do what we did last year," he explains. The ultimate size and shape of this year's inevitable tax cut will depend on how Bush defines victory; conservatives hope they don't end up feeling defeated.

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Conservative discontent has mainly been confined to the op-ed pages, but it could spread to the grass roots.

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The same is true on education reform: When the president unveiled his proposal, following a flurry of photo ops with Democratic lawmakers, it looked as if he were mining the most promising vein for bipartisan cooperation. It appeared that lots of new spending might buy Democratic support for some conservative actions, such as creating limited voucher programs and giving states flexibility in how they spend education grants. But the landscape has changed in just a few short weeks. In what is always a dismaying sign for conservatives, the Senate education panel unanimously approved some provisions of the president's plan, but postponed the most controversial reforms for consideration by the entire Senate. Conservative reformers expect the final Senate product to be a bill that Ted Kennedy will like.

Meanwhile, in the House, Republicans are insisting that the White House not abandon the choice and flexibility reforms. They also want the

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White House to modify its national-testing provision to ensure that states aren't made to adopt uniform standards or curricula. The House education committee is drafting a bill that addresses these concerns. A committee GOP aide explains, "The last thing we want to do is drop a bill and have 70 Republicans shoot arrows at it." But Democrats are equally adamant in their opposition to vouchers and state flexibility. Colorado Republican Bob Schaffer explains that "many of my Democratic colleagues built careers on these programs with their red tape." Whipsawed by Left and Right, Bush may not be able to pass an education bill that House Republicans support.

Another problem area has been environmental policy. Statements by administration officials about regulating carbon-dioxide emissions made the free-market environmental community "very nervous," according to Fred Smith, president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute. Conservatives' chief worry had been about the appointment of Christine Todd Whitman to head the Environmental Protection Agency, so—Smith explains—they were blindsided when it turned out to be Treasury Secretary O'Neill who started aggressively promoting Al Gore's pet global-warming theory: "While we were watching the Whitman front, we got surprised that someone as powerful as the Treasury secretary is playing in this area." At the first Bush cabinet meeting, O'Neill distributed copies of a speech he gave in 1999 to the Aluminum Association in which he compared global warming to a nuclear holocaust.

Some key officials in the White House, the State Department, and the EPA are Clinton-Gore appointees who haven't yet been replaced. Smith thinks these holdovers are trying to "trap the administration in a global-warming policy before conservatives get into the administration in adviser roles." But, in a major victory for the free marketeers, Bush has since announced that he will not, after all, impose mandatory carbon-dioxide standards on power plants—which had been a key goal of the global-warming doomsayers.

The negative reaction of conservatives to one component of the president's faith-based initiative does appear to have persuaded the White House that a modification is in order. Sympathetic critics like Marvin Olasky and the Hudson Institute's Michael Horowitz raised concerns about the potentially corrupting effect of federal grants to religious groups.

In short order, the *Washington Post* was reporting, "Faith Initiative May Be Revised." Don Eberly, the deputy director of the White House office charged with implementing the initiative, cited the "friendly criticism" that merited a reevaluation of the proposed grant program.

Aside from the growing controversy over the administration's bizarrely Gore-like environmental policy, the White House has been careful to avoid provoking conservative displeasure with its agenda. If Don Eberly's recognition of "friendly criticism" that warrants an adjustment in administration policy represents how the Bush White House intends to deal with its conservative supporters, they could be settling in for a nice long honeymoon. **NR**

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■ POLITICS III ■

Head of Its Class(es)

A new politics for the GOP

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

GROWING up in '50s Britain, I became addicted to the instructive works of Stephen Potter—*Lifemanship*, *One-upmanship*, etc.—which gave satirical advice on how to triumph in the little social battles of everyday life in a class society. The fact that Potter's works existed, of course, was strong evidence that Britain, if a society with classes, was also one in which people moved with relative ease from one social class to another. For there is no need for advice on etiquette in a society in which people remain fixed in the circumstances in which they were born. Everyone knows how to behave at home.

Potter's advice is useful in any society in which men hope to shine socially, impress girls, beat their opponents at tennis or bridge, sing comic songs without embarrassment, and in general lever themselves one up over the other fellow. My favorite Potter advice ran: "If someone cracks a joke about cripples, say nothing but get up and limp slowly out of the room." But there are many other sage maxims by which the learner is enabled to cope in conversations on subjects where he is entirely ignorant. Thus, almost any statement about the culture or politics of another country, from Norway to Nicaragua, can be capped with the retort: "Yes, but not in the South."

A layman's introduction to the Potter oeuvre is available in the form of the Alastair Sim movie comedy *School for Scoundrels*, now out on video. Maybe the Republican National Committee can invest in a copy. For the sad fact is that the GOP seems to have got itself into a very perverse social predicament. Whatever the grounds of debate, it is permanently "one down," in Potter's terminology. If the topic is tax cuts, it is

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damned as rich and greedy. Even Warren Buffett and Bill Gates draw back appalled from its shameless advocacy of repealing the estate tax. But if the world is discussing government subsidies to *Piss Christ*, the GOP is painfully polyester in its lack of worldly sophistication. Indeed, the party's moralistic philistinism has become such a scandal that even the suburbs have noticed.

What has brought about these contrary embarrassments is a fairly dramatic transformation of the American class system. (Yes, Virginia, there is such a beast.) The workers have become rich and therefore conservative; and the rich have decided to become less conservative to spite them. This is not unprecedented: European aristos used to dress in gorgeous silks and satins, but when the poor could afford to copy them, the aristos began to wander around their estates in torn pullovers, their trousers held up with old school ties, being mistaken for the gardener. (See also the social history of denim.)

In America's case, the class conflict is further complicated by Freudian compulsions. The workers want to copy the rich they know, namely the local small capitalist and middle-class professional; the successful children of that class, rejecting parental standards, want to imitate Old Money and its Style; but Old Money camouflages itself by adopting proletarian dress and standards. The upshot is that Mr. and Mrs. Babbitt send their daughter to the Ivy League with highest hopes, and she returns home for "Winterval" with her Chicana lesbian roommate, denouncing perfume and the patriarchy. On the other side of the tracks, meanwhile, the autoworker's son reads Ayn Rand and dreams of stalking in a principled fashion through the local country club, sneering contemptuously at the assembled wimps.

And the third influence—after mass affluence and Oedipal revenge—is a change in the basis of class. Just as wealth replaced birth as the origin of high status sometime in the 19th century, so education has replaced wealth since the Second World War. There were signs of this change even before that—at some point between the wars, say 1938, it became mildly disgraceful for an able-bodied man to live solely off a private income. However rich, he needed to have a job. (Exactly one generation later, circa 1965, women caught up with this trend, realized that their lives as homemakers were a form of patriarchal oppression, and demanded careers too.) After 1945, however, as a result of such developments as the G.I. Bill and the SAT, there was a quiet social revolution. A new national elite based on education, paper qualifications, and technical skills gradually replaced existing (mainly local) elites in corporations, national politics, and cultural life.

■

The parties are changing places socially. Unfortunately, the Republican party has not yet taken this on board.

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This change is somewhat obscured by the fact that education and wealth correlate reasonably closely. Well-educated lawyers, doctors, managers, and entrepreneurs become rich over time. The correlation is not exact—there are wealthy dimwits and Ph.D.'s from the ghetto. And both upstarts and downstarts need time to get to their ultimate social destinations. But even though well-educated people generally become rich, they often harbor hostile, envious, or contemptuous feelings toward those who are merely rich, obviously rich, vulgarly rich. And to differentiate themselves from such people, they will exhibit a sympathetic feeling of patronage toward their supposed victims and enemies, namely the poor—call it conspicuous compassion. All of which—see Point 2—will sometimes mean their feeling more hostile to parents who lack advanced degrees than to Old Money classmates in jeans who know Bruce Springsteen's lyrics by heart.

These are merely some of the complexities of the new class war. Critics as witty and profound as Tom Wolfe, David Brooks, and Charles Murray have explored some of the deeper civilizational implications of this social transformation. My intention now is to examine its narrow political consequences for the GOP.

The electoral figures alone are illuminating. Remember how observers as various as the Democratic Leadership Council and the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page argued that Al Gore's class rhetoric would never play with today's sophisticated electorate? Well, apparently it played pretty well in the country clubs. Gore received 45 percent of votes from people with incomes over $75,000, 43 percent of "upper-middle-class" voters (as defined by the Voter News Service), 56 percent of "upper-class" voters, and 46 percent of "investor class" voters, meaning, those with shares. As one might expect, Gore did even better when voters were selected by education—he beat George W. Bush by eight percentage points among voters with advanced degrees. Some of those voters were almost certainly self-satisfied Ph.D.'s who had been persuaded that Bush was the kind of "wealthy dimwit" they most disliked.

Nor is this a sudden fashion. As Paul Starobin detailed in *National Journal* three years ago, there has been a slow drift among better educated and richer voters to the Democrats across America over the last twenty years. And this is paralleled by a switch to the GOP among lower-middle-class voters, especially men in the South. The parties are changing places socially. Unfortunately, however, the GOP has not taken this on board. Therefore it continually gets wrong-footed in public debate.

Take the tax question: The Republicans are taking political heat for a tax cut that supposedly benefits "the rich." Those billionaires like Warren Buffett are indignant about it. But the very rich are playing their own unique game, blending newfangled conspicuous compassion with old-fashioned conspicuous consumption. Not only are they demonstrating their affection for "the poor"; they are also boasting that they are rich enough to pay taxes without pain. Exactly how much taxation they will actually pay when their accountants have explored every avenue of tax "avoision" is another matter. In the meantime, it is an extremely noble attitude to strike.

What the GOP should stress is that tax cuts benefit mainly, not the rich, but those who aspire to be rich. For even the small amounts of income that tax cuts restore are valuable to the worker-entrepreneur whose success or failure occurs at the margin. The estate tax wipes out, not great fortunes, but small family firms. And today's entrepreneur

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very often has a Ph.D. in his hip pocket. High taxation is a form of social protection for the wealthy—protecting them from overcrowding at the top by raising obstacles to new success. And it should not be too difficult to draw this point to the attention of educated people.

Generally speaking, the GOP should reassess its entire political appeal in the light of the new class politics. It is no longer the automatic friend of large corporations, wealthy individuals, the upper middle class, or the economic status quo. Its support for limited government and market mechanisms should be designed to encourage new wealth and enterprise rather than vested interests—and a self-reliant flexibility rather than job protection among both blue- and white-collar workers. The GOP should seek to reward practical intelligence, business ability, enterprise, imagination, and adaptability at all levels of economic activity; it should not automatically defer to academic or other credentials that may reflect a sterile scholasticism. It should change the arrangements for social protection so that they give people who failed earlier a second chance in life.

In short, the Republicans should become the party of creative intelligence, splitting off the genuinely imaginative from the merely educated, and uniting them with the enthusiastic and hard-working in all classes. Hence their policies should appeal to those people in all classes who are striving to better their condition—whether that betterment has to do with founding a business or improving their own human capital. These people will generally include a majority of the middle class, a substantial minority of the new educated upper class, and many people now seen as social problems rather than economic actors.

Of course, the first and most natural supporters of such a party are more likely to be in the tax-providing private sector, in particular small business, than in the tax-consuming public sector. For the creative tend to migrate to the market, the merely educated to controlling institutions that would control our lives. So when Al Gore or Robert Reich next praises a jobs-creation program or a subtle new business tax that has just succeeded in Germany, the GOP should have its reply ready: "Yes, but not in the South." **NR**

■ POLITICS IV ■

'A Threat to Our Domestic Institutions'

High times for a racial ambulance chaser

JOHN J. MILLER

THESE are glory days for Mary Frances Berry. After years of neglect, the head of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is back in the news. The voting mess in Florida last November is one of the best things ever to happen to her. Thanks to her commission's subpoena powers, she's been able to pull off a feat that other left-wing activists could only dream of doing: dragging Gov. Jeb Bush and Florida secretary of state Katherine Harris in front of her panel and treating them with the full dose of disrespect they deserve for denying Al Gore the presidency. When Bush showed up for his grilling in the ballroom of a Holiday Inn on January 11, the governor had barely leaned into his microphone—"I didn't get to have an opening remark, but I'm pleased that you're here and . . ."—before Berry cut him off. "If you have any opening remarks, you will submit them for the record, and we're sorry we don't have time," she snapped. It was difficult to hear Bush complete his sentence: ". . . we welcome you to Tallahassee." Berry spent the entire time treating him with contempt, and then denounced Harris's testimony as "laughable." There was another hearing a month later, in Miami, and Berry has promised more still. She says she'll subpoena Bush again for a new round of browbeating. She's loving every minute of it.

Mary Frances Berry is one of the ambulance chasers of the civil-rights movement. Every hiccup in American race relations finds her sprinting to the scene, ready to exploit and agitate. When New York City police officers shot an unarmed Amadou Diallo, she was there—and her pliant commission banged out a hasty and half-baked report on brutality just as the would-be Senate race between Hillary Clinton and Mayor Rudy Giuliani was intensifying. When Jesse Jackson screamed about the suspensions of black high-school students who rioted in Decatur, Ill., she threw the credibility of her commission behind the bogus charges. When the country was treated to a black-church-burning scare—a hoax—she went into hysterics. She hollered about racism, and simply couldn't stomach the thought that certain conservatives were willing to help. When the Christian Coalition offered to pay for rebuilding efforts, she said, "You have the very people who created the context for the fires rushing over and saying, 'Let us help you put them out.'"

Now she has targeted the Sunshine State, and people are paying attention. At the commission's meeting on March 9, she boasted that her panel is the only branch of the government at any level conducting an investigation of voting-rights abuses in Florida. She promises a full report by the first week of June, but there's no question what it will find. "Voter disenfranchisement appears to be at the heart of the issue," she said, reading from a statement the commission then adopted, even though it failed to cite a single example of intentional discrimination on the part of any Florida official. Commissioners Russell Redenbaugh and Abigail Thernstrom objected, but Berry gaveled them into silence.

Berry has gone on the warpath against the Bush brothers before. Last spring, she attacked Jeb Bush's plan to phase out race-based admissions at Florida colleges and universities. (Bush's proposal is "no substitute for strong, race-conscious affirmative action," she said.) She was so desperate to attack Bush, she violated commission rules by failing to announce in the Federal Register that her statement would be discussed at the next monthly meeting and instead pushed it through on less than a week's notice—so that its release would coincide with a legal action taken by the NAACP and NOW. She rejected an offer to meet with Bush before putting out the statement, and later penned an article for the now-defunct black-activist magazine *Emerge* on Bush's

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"One Florida" plan. It was entitled "Jeb Crow."

Berry insists that she's on a "fact-finding" mission in Florida, but her crusade is plainly partisan. Last fall, she protested the presidential-election result when it was still uncertain. "We are either in a position in the next few weeks—those of us who believe in the cause of human rights near and far—of having to mobilize, nudge, and use our elbows to make sure that Al Gore stays on the right path," she said at a community college in New York on November 17. "Or we're in a position of having to mobilize for an all-out campaign to make the Bush administration disavow some of the things that they stood for [in the campaign]." Since then, her anger has only grown. "The fundamental bedrock of our country has been torn asunder," she declared on January 15 in St. Louis. "We have a duty, and I think that Martin Luther King would agree, that this [election result] is an important issue, a threat to our domestic institutions."

Berry is something of an expert on threats to our domestic institutions. In *Long Memory*, a book she coauthored in 1982, she said, "Blacks shared so many of the economic goals of the Communists that many of them might be described as fellow travelers." Yet "blacks remained cool to the Communists. . . . Subjected

Mary Frances Berry by John T. Ward

to a massive barrage of propaganda from the American news media, few of them knew about Russia's constitutional safeguards for minorities, the extent of the equality of opportunity, or the equal provision of social services to its citizens." About black Americans in the 1960s, she noted, "The threat of genocide was real. It was roughly comparable to the threat faced by the Jews in the 1930s."

So Berry has been out of touch with reality for some time. Even Democrats know this. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights would have been a perfect venue for President Clinton's race initiative several years ago, but Clinton sidestepped it entirely. That was a sensible choice: Not only has Berry damaged the commission's integrity, she has allowed it to suffer painful levels of incompetence. In 1997, the General Accounting Office labeled it "an agency in disarray." Nobody in the White House or Congress has bothered to push for a funding increase in years, despite fast-paced government growth; the commis-

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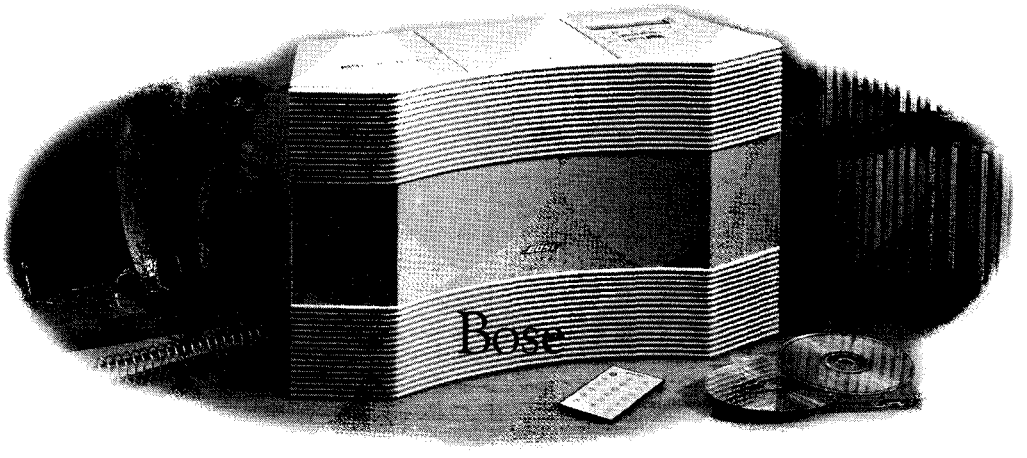

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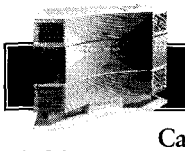

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sion's budget has stalled at a bit under $9 million.

As the Bush administration gets around to replacing leftover Clinton personnel at the commission—especially the vital staff-director position—Berry's grip on its activities will loosen. The commission might even begin to take on the bipartisan cast it was meant to have when it was created in 1957 (right before the black-genocide threat). But Berry will fight hard to keep that from happening, and to stay in personal control. In fact, she's secretly hatching her most brazen power play yet—one that may cause President Bush an enormous headache a few years from now.

Each of the body's eight commissioners is supposed to serve a term lasting six years, with appointments coming separately from the White House and both parties in Congress. Berry has been on the commission for nearly two decades, and her latest term began when Clinton named her to one of the presidential slots. She technically succeeded Connie Horner, whom the first President Bush had picked for the job in the final hours of his presidency. Horner's term expired on December 5, 1998. These were busy days for Clinton—impeachment by the House, a trial in the Senate—and he didn't get around to Berry until January 26, 1999. But Berry's six-year term didn't actually begin that day. The clock started ticking the moment Horner departed, nearly two months earlier. In other words, Bush will have the ability to select her successor. But when the federal Plum Book, which lists every political job in government, came out this winter, it said Berry's service will conclude on January 21, 2005—one day after the next inauguration. The source of this datum is the commission itself, which means that Berry is consciously trying to put herself out of Bush's reach. Yet the White House clerk's office, staffed by career bureaucrats, confirms that its records show Berry's term ending in December 2004. The Bush White House will want to resolve this discrepancy on its own terms, and soon. Berry surely intends to cry racism when a fight breaks out, and Bush won't want to be heading into retirement when that happens.

The whole thing hinges on who wins the next election, of course. If Bush prevails, it won't much matter if Berry stays on for a few extra weeks. But if he doesn't, and this problem hasn't been righted, he may be denied a small but meaningful opportunity to shape the government he leaves behind.

So remember: When Mary Frances Berry goes meddling in Florida, she isn't just trying to embarrass the Bush brothers. She's fighting for her job. **NR**

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■ IRAQ ■

Containing Saddam

No time to go wobbly

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE containment of Iraq has underpinned the stability of the Middle East these last ten years. The world can be grateful that the United Nations imposed sanctions, braked Iraq's military expenditure by blocking its petrodollars (except for humanitarian purposes), and policed the skies over Baghdad in order to prevent Saddam Hussein from further assaulting his own people or the neighbors. The man is a brutal tyrant, and nobody believes otherwise. But the world has grown bored and indulgent. The United Nations no longer has the will to contain Iraq. In practical terms, the United States has taken over almost sole responsibility for doing so, and unpopularity comes with it. A decision has to be made soon about how policy should now evolve towards Saddam Hussein. Secretary of State Colin Powell floats the idea that the moment has come for "smart sanctions," that is to say, selectively targeted ones. Whatever he may have in mind, the qualifying adjective "smart" conveys the ominous suggestion that containment will slide smoothly into appeasement.

Arguments for appeasing dictators are triumphs of hope over reality. There are always some people who say that reason is the only weapon, and the trouble and expense of taking action are far too great, a better opportunity must arrive, and peace-in-our-time is a supreme moral absolute. However high-minded such sentiments may sound, they are misplaced. Ask the Israelis. The Oslo peace process was widely considered to be an almost equally important plank underpinning regional stability. In the course of this process, continual Israeli appeasement led Yasser Arafat to

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assume that more was still not enough, and his expectations and demands rose accordingly, to end on the streets in a test of strength. It is a classic example of how appeasement promotes the very violence it is designed to ward off.

Sanctions against Iraq were bound to be difficult to maintain in place. It is relatively straightforward to quarantine Fidel Castro, because he rules a small island and has only cigars and sugar to offer potential traders. North Korea has virtually nothing to sell except reconditioned Soviet weaponry. But Iraq occupies a strategic position in the Gulf, and floats on oil, which is smuggled out and sold to a variety of eager international buyers through channels that cannot easily be stopped up, providing Saddam with illicit funding on a gigantic scale. Since his ambitions for power have priority over every human consideration, he is immune to the suffering of his people, though willing and able to exploit it for propaganda against sanctions. As for the Iraqis themselves, in common with Arabs everywhere, they are conditioned by an unbroken history and culture of absolutism. Resenting and fearing oppression as they certainly do, they also acknowledge that Saddam is dictator over them because he has an exceptionally ruthless will. Powerless to liberate themselves, they applaud if he wins. The day he loses, they will rejoice and trample on the corpse.

In these perilous circumstances, Saddam has maneuvered with skill and assurance, setting up a vicious spiral working to his benefit. The richer he has become through evasion of sanctions, the more he has had to offer other rulers or governments, the better to reduce the coalition against him. The United Nations with its successive commissions has become an institutional fig leaf. There is no prospect of the return to Iraq of United Nations weapons inspectors. Everybody likes to be on a winning side, especially if the losing side looks as though it will be the United States. So in the Security Council, Russia and China favor lifting sanctions while already supplying Saddam with armaments of all kinds, paid for with the profits of smuggled oil. France pays lip-service to its "international responsibilities," as one of her ambassadors puts it in a defense of French policy towards Saddam, while making no secret that its real appetite is for profiteering financially from the situation.

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In perilous circumstances, Saddam has set up a vicious spiral working to his benefit.

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Reports from the German Economics Ministry, and intelligence sources as well, confirm that Iraq once more has a network of front companies, "operating independently of each other" to procure the technology and raw materials needed to update or complete weapons of mass destruction. Sixteen such companies are under observation in Jordan alone. Egypt was crucial to America's Gulf War coalition, but its largest trading partner is currently Iraq. Syria, also a member of that coalition, is restoring good relations with Iraq, reopening the oil pipeline shut for 18 years. Dubai, with its free-trade zone and its port, is a major supplier of military material. Saudi policies, some pro-Saddam, others anti-, as usual cancel one another out. Saddam regularly makes speeches and holds parades to incite Palestinian violence and foster conditions of war against Israel. His agents reward the families of those wounded or killed in Gaza and the West Bank with sums up to $10,000. An Arab summit is due to be held shortly in Amman, and Saddam may well emerge from it as the undisputed leader in the Arab world at present. Isolated, Kuwait is vulnerable again.

When in 1981 Iraq was about to go nuclear for the first time, Prime Minister Begin of Israel took the momentous decision to bomb its reactor. He was criticized on all sides. But in the absence of such a preemptive measure, the Gulf War of 1991 would not have taken place, and the fates of Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Israel would have turned out very differently. Today, occupation by ground forces alone could eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. These weapons nonetheless could be reduced. Richard Butler, the Australian diplomat who led the frustrated U.N. team of weapons inspectors, is on record pleading for a repeat of Begin's air strike.

Saddam Hussein by Ismael Roldan

Horrified by their assignments, Iraqi scientists defect regularly, and there can be no doubting their testimony that Saddam has chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. According to a recent BBC television program, an underwater explosion at Lake Rezzaza, 90 miles from Baghdad, in 1989 marked a significant stage in Saddam's second attempt to build a nuclear bomb. If one of these defecting scientists is to be believed, the necessary enriched uranium reached Iraq from South Africa, via Brazil. Professional analysts mostly concur that Saddam needs two more years or so in order to go nuclear, a step that

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must affect the balance of power in the Middle East, and then the world at large.

To appease Saddam is to pretend that he is a tribal chief of no significance, a fellow with a comic moustache who loves military parades and firing off guns, his threats altogether exaggerated. On the contrary, he has a power-base resting on terror, and the means continuously to extend it for imperialist purposes, in the self-appointed role of an Arab Bismarck and leader in the future of an anti-Western coalition.

Were Saddam to be overthrown by one of his sons or cronies, the tyranny would continue as before. A serious policy of constraint begins with the creation of a political opposition. One such exists, the Iraqi National Congress, an umbrella group based in London of refugees and dissidents representing all elements of Iraqi society. Richard Perle and others have long advocated Saddam's ultimate replacement by an INC regime. Veering between bombing Saddam and appeasing him, the Clinton administration provided the necessary funds for the INC, but did not then follow through. These Iraqis in exile make things difficult for themselves, it is true, by petty squabbling for position and influence. They have to elect a single credible leader. That leader then has to campaign, broadcasting his message to Iraqis on radio and television, and lobbying Arab heads of state, and the Russians and Chinese too.

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Any weakening of the principle of sanctions is the thin end of the wedge.

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Any weakening of the principle of sanctions is the thin end of the wedge. Sanctions should be tightened, to include all possible measures to prevent the smuggling of oil on which Saddam is so dependent. Even a limited victory for Saddam is a defeat for Iraqis and Arabs everywhere. The longer containment lasts, the greater the chances of liberating victimized people and keeping the peace. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Sweatshop Chic

The know-nothings find a cause

JONAH GOLDBERG

THE lefty ideal used to be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." But with the end of the Cold War, pragmatism has conquered, and the goal is now slightly less ambitious: to make labor "sweat-free." Work's okay, but *sweaty* work—forget it.

The anti-sweatshop movement has a lot riding on it. Everyone from Noam Chomsky to John Sweeney thinks it could form the basis for a new Left-progressive united front. Currently the coalition is driven by students, funded by unions, and cheered on by a very broad assortment of liberals.

And once you start reading the anti-sweatshop "literature," it's easy to see why the cause is so fashionable. Sweatshops are seen as spores of capitalism and Western imperialism, floating on the international trade winds, setting roots in virgin territories, and mushrooming into everything *Mother Jones* readers deplore: the oppression of women and minorities, exploitation of the poor, and destruction of the environment. What could be more useful for recharging the batteries of dour feminists and moth-balled Marxists?

In the U.S., it all got started in earnest in 1997, when a bunch of kids at Duke University were determined to make sure that no Blue Devil sweatshirts or beer cozies were made by poor people or the children of poor people. So they had a sit-in. The school administration (surprise!) caved, agreeing to require that school licensees sign a "code of conduct" permitting only "sweat-free" sweatshirts.

Mr. Goldberg is editor of National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com).

Since then, the movement has grown to more than 100 campuses and is already of a scale comparable to the South African "divestiture" movement on campuses in the 1980s. Indeed, "sweatshop" has replaced "children" as the new Swiss Army all-purpose word for the Left. In the past, any cause—gun control, welfare, Head Start, the designated-hitter rule—became immediately sacrosanct if you just rubbed it with a kid. Now "sweatshop" has a similar elastic utility. "Sweatshops are more than just labor abuse," explains Sweatshops.org, a web clearinghouse for the sweat-free movement. "When you find a sweatshop you'll also find social injustice, poverty, discrimination, abuse of women and environmental damage." In other words, everyone in the coalition of the oppressed can get a treat by whacking this piñata.

As Walter Olson of the of the Manhattan Institute has catalogued, just about anything can be called a sweatshop now. In 1999, AFL-CIO executive vice-president Linda Chavez-Thompson received raucous applause from marchers when she declared that Yale University was a "sweatshop"—because it refused to permit its "exploited" grad students to unionize. (They get paid close to $40,000 at an annualized rate, plus free tuition and health insurance.) *Time* magazine called the dot-com companies a "a piecework-industry sweatshop." Dan Stein, head of the anti-immigration group FAIR, declared that a bill granting more U.S. visas to high-skilled computer programmers and engineers "should rightly be called the Silicon Valley Sweatshop Act." (In 1998, salaries for software engineers started at $50,000 a year; hardly something for Upton Sinclair to break his pencil about.)

The real villains, of course, are the Third World enterprises where poor people work long hours in unpleasant circumstances for less than a dollar an hour. No one should defend the horrors—factories with locked doors during fires, employers who confiscate passports and harass workers, etc.—but the fact remains that, on the whole, what most opponents call "sweatshops" are actually a good thing.

A recent *Lingua Franca* cover story

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surveyed the current state of the academic debate over sweatshops, and found that even the most rabid critics are forced to concede that the evil multinationals generally pay at least the prevailing wage in the countries in which they operate, and, more often than not, more. Most of the "exploitees" are happy to get these jobs because, as Columbia University economist Jagdish Bhagwati put it, they're a "ticket to slightly less impoverishment."

Not surprisingly, this sort of pragmatism can drive a gender theorist to the point of kicking over her fern. What about the oppression? What about the racism? What about my grant to study homophobia in Indonesian sneaker factories? Indeed, most academics in the anti-sweatshop movement are cultural-studies types whose chief interest is finding new cudgels against whitey.

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If Nike is raising the standard of living in a poor country, then maybe outrage isn't the right response.

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The broad economic consensus reaches from Bhagwati and Milton Friedman all the way over to stalwart liberals like Lawrence Summers and Paul Krugman: Sweatshops, all in all, equal progress. Economic development makes people less poor, which means healthier, freer, and more capable of protecting the environment and workers' rights. All of the Asian economic powers began with sweaty labor, which generated the resources to create a less sweaty economy. Krugman points out, for example, that in 1975 South Korean wages equaled only 5 percent of U.S. wages; two decades later, they had risen to 43 percent.

A handful of economists dismiss this consensus, saying their colleagues aren't asking the right questions. Jeffrey Winters, a professor of political economy at Northwestern University, suggests that we should be asking, "How do wages compare with those of CEOs and celebrity endorsers?" The bottom line, Winters tells *Lingua Franca*, is that "Nike does not pay a living wage and could easily afford to."

The anti-imperialists are, themselves, being rather imperialistic. For someone to ask, "What would Heidegger say about Bangladeshi piecework?" is an example of Western bias; but so is asking whether a Vietnamese worker at a Nike plant is making a large enough fraction of Michael Jordan's salary. In neither case does the question represent a truly "indigenous" way of looking at the issue. Income inequality is something that particularly offends *Western* sensibilities.

Winters asks, "Should American students be any less outraged just because Nike positions itself slightly higher than some of the exceptionally bad local Indonesian or Vietnamese producers?" The answer, of course, is yes—they should be less outraged, though they can still be angry. If Nike is raising the standard of living and bringing thousands of jobs that wouldn't otherwise be available to a poor country, then maybe outrage isn't the right response. As Linda Lim, a professor at the University of Michigan and a critic of the sweat-free cause, told *Lingua Franca*, this is "patronizing white-man's-burden stuff."

To the anti-sweat ideologues, Western-style capitalism is an unnatural imposition of alien values on foreign cultures, but somehow the imposition of equally Western concepts of fair labor practices and just compensation are wholly consistent with these cultures. Take child labor: It may be horrifying to Americans who treat their progeny as opportunities to display conspicuous consumption, but in much of the Third World, it is natural to view your child as an economic asset. In countries where schools are not available or affordable, it would be limousine liberalism on a global scale to insist that children stay home and consume resources—which is why even the U.N. and most non-government organizations oppose an outright ban on child labor.

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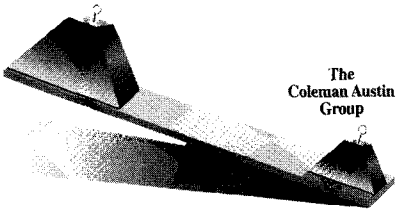

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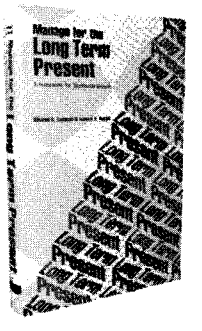

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What the anti-sweatshop movement amounts to is a war on development. And while the motives of the students who form the backbone of the movement are surely decent, the intentions of their backers are less so. The United Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, a member of the AFL-CIO, has seen its membership plummet by nearly two-thirds over the last few decades largely because garment-industry jobs have gone overseas. Its effort to ban the importation of whatever it claims to be sweatshop products is directly, and often shamelessly, tied to a protectionist desire to keep out cheaper products and save union jobs.

Sweatshops are not an end in themselves, but the first rung on the ladder of success; rather than hurry nations up that ladder, radicals would keep these nations frozen in amber—living museums of poverty and ignorance. The best evidence that sweatshops are transitory in nature can be found right here at home, where the anti-sweatshop movement began with the tragic Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911. Sweatshops helped move millions of unskilled immigrants out of poverty. While the fire helped galvanize reformers to curb many of the excesses of the garment industry, it was the success of the industry itself that made such efforts affordable.

Sweatshops are not an end in themselves, but the first rung on the ladder of success.

Rose Freedman, the last survivor of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, died in February at the age of 107. Mrs. Freedman, a tireless advocate for labor reforms, was a remarkable woman who saw a lot in her lifetime. But what was barely mentioned in her obituaries was that she lived to see her granddaughter become the president of 20th Century Fox Television.

If that's the kind of intractable intergenerational poverty that sweatshops propagate, then the rest of the world needs more of them. **NR**

■ CULTURE WATCH II ■

The Latest at Fonda U.

Of boys & girls & Barbarella

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

In the style of Dwight Eisenhower's well-known valedictory warning to the American people, the editors of this magazine some months ago spoke of the rising danger of a "celebrity-activist complex." A perfect illustration of what we meant occurred in early March, when it was announced that Jane Fonda had donated $12.5 million to a "gender-studies center" at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. You may think that this is just a case of a Hollywood airhead with more money than sense subsidizing a bunch of ivory-tower leftists. Why should anyone—anyone not a possible beneficiary of Ms. Fonda's will—be concerned? Listen, and you shall hear.

Fonda's gift is in honor of Carol Gilligan, Harvard's first Professor of Gender Studies, author of the feminist classic *In a Different Voice* (1982). In that book, Gilligan established herself as a "difference feminist," arguing that women and men have fundamentally different ways of thinking about themselves and those around them, the women's way being of course superior. Men, according to Gilligan, operate on an ethic of *separation* from others, building their view of the world on abstract principles and rules. Women, by contrast, use an ethic of *connection* to deal with moral issues, seeing them in terms of "caring" and "intimacy."

The book's effect on Jane Fonda was, by her own report, dramatic: It made her cry. Hence the donation, which includes provision for a chair to be endowed in Gilligan's name. Fonda is a keen supporter of feminist causes. She funded, to the tune of about a million dollars, the "V-Day" event at Madison Square Garden in February, at which assorted feminist luminaries attempted to launch a redefinition of St. Valentine's Day as "V for Violence [against women] Day," or possibly, depending on which feminist you talk to, "V for Vagina Day"—the event included a reading, in which Fonda participated, of Eve Ensler's play *The Vagina Monologues*.

Gilligan's own main inspiration was an earlier feminist thinker, Nancy Chodorow. Back in the 1970s, Chodorow argued for "transforming the social organization of gender." She believed that men and women were equally capable of "masculine" and "feminine" behavior, but that capitalist society forced the familiar, traditional divergence of roles on them, so that a male "patriarchy" could lord it over downtrodden womankind. Chodorow's own intellectual lineage goes directly back to Karl Marx, of course. Society exists, therefore some class must be oppressing some other class. The first task of the social scientist is to identify oppressor and oppressed, to answer the question Lenin stated so very succinctly: "Who, whom?"

Such straightforward appeals to Marx will not do nowadays. Outside a small and dwindling number of intellectual bunkers, the old boy is no longer respectable. This does not, however, mean that the Left has changed its goal of a revolutionary transformation of society, nor its view of human nature as infinitely plastic. Gilligan's "difference feminism" was actually attacked from the feminist Left when it first appeared, on the grounds that any assertion of fundamental differences between men and women might undermine the dogma that gender is a mere social construct with no foundation in physical reality. The Left need not have worried, and in fact no longer seems to be worrying. I could not find in Gilligan's book any hint that the difference she is describing has any biological foundation. Her thesis is perfectly consistent with the gender-is-a-social-construct school of thought. *We're not hard-wired to be this way. An oppressive patriarchal society forces these deformations on us.*

Now, you might suppose that all this "gender studies" stuff is strictly for the

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girls—that the males of our species are not much in evidence at the Gender Studies Center, and that the whole shebang is, in reality, nothing more than a respectable academic front for man-hating feminist agitation. You would be right on both counts, but things are changing fast. The Gender Studies crowd have discovered masculinity. They have, in fact, grasped a very profound insight, a way to transform what old-line Marxists would have called "the dialectic." You see, once you have dropped all references to classical Marxism, you can take a position that would never have occurred to Marx himself—that would, in fact, I think, have caused him to fly into one of his famous rages: You can sympathize with the oppressor class.

Men, from this kinder and gentler point of view, are just as much victims of what Chodorow called "the sex/gender system" as are women. They don't really *want* to be oppressors—human volition has no place in the pure-leftist world view. Men are twisted and bent into being the way they are by impersonal forces, embodied in the child-rearing practices of "capitalist" society and in traditional models of masculinity. It is okay, even if un-Marxist, to feel sorry for them, and we should try to think of ways to alleviate their psychic pain. When Gilligan came up with this one—it is implicit in her book, and so I think can fairly be credited to her—she opened up broad new vistas for gender-studies research. It was the insight that launched a thousand Ph.D. dissertations.

It is but a short step from this kind of outlook to asking: How can we de-masculinize males? Since women's personalities are crushed and stunted by patriarchal oppression, and since men themselves are driven mad by the psychic contortions necessary to make themselves into oppressors, would we not do everyone a favor by dumping the whole business of masculinity?

This step has indeed been taken, most notably by Dr. William Pollack, co-director of the Center for Men at Harvard Medical School. In his 1998 book *Real Boys*, Pollack turns around Professor Higgins's famous question: "Why can't a woman be more like a man?" It would be a jolly good thing, says Pollack, if men could be more like women. The way to accomplish this is to catch 'em young—to change the way we raise boys. Instead of the old "Boy Code" of inculcated stoicism, reserve, and "manliness," we should show boys how to empathize, to get in touch with their inner feelings, to be more . . . girlish. The stoicizing, toughening process that boys have heretofore been put through—the process that found literary expression in *Tom Brown's School Days*, *Captains Courageous*, and other once-cherished books—was all a terrible mistake, says Dr. Pollack. It not only produced an oppressor class, it psychically maimed and traumatized the boys themselves.

Jane Fonda by Roman Genn

Why should conservatives care about this stuff? Because the Gilligans and Pollacks do not conduct their labors unheard and unseen. Their influence is enormous, seeping down into the teacher-training colleges and schools of administration, and thence to actual teachers, actual children, and actual education bureaucrats. Pollack himself has delivered conference addresses to thousands of school principals, guidance counselors, and PTA leaders.

That influence has been especially pernicious these past eight years. The United States has a Department of Education, that department has an Office for Civil Rights, and that office was for the entire duration of the Clinton presidency headed by a hard-left feminist ideologue, Norma Cantu. Under Cantu's direction, the full power of her office—principally, the power to deny federal funds to schools and districts that defied her will—was employed in enforcing Gilligan-derived doctrines wherever possible, via sexual-harassment codes, the imposition on schools of "gender equity coordinators," and the most rigid, inflexible interpretations of federal civil-rights statutes and court rulings.

The damage has been very great, though it has so far gone almost unnoticed by the general public. Everything was done in typically Clintonian fashion. Up front, there was the man, busily pandering and triangulating, throwing up a smoke screen of talk about drug-free zones, school uniforms, and academic testing. Behind that screen, Ms. Cantu and her armies of termites were chewing their way into the fabric of America's educational establishment. They, and their doctrines, are now securely imbedded in the educational bureaucracy, and will not easily be dislodged.

At the time of writing, Ms. Cantu's replacement at the Office of Civil Rights has not been named. The position is under the purview of Rod Paige, the new secretary of education. Though he did fine work in raising the standard of elementary and high-school education in the Houston district he supervised, Paige seems to have no strong opinions about gender issues, higher education, or the role of his Civil Rights Office, and was not questioned on these points during his confirmation hearings.

Given that neither Paige nor, so far as I can determine, his boss has any interest in these matters, the strong probability is that nothing will be done about them. While it is unlikely that Paige will appoint another Norma Cantu, it is equally unlikely that there will be any serious attempt to apply pest control to the Department of Education, flushing out those termites. Most probably we shall see another instance of what Margaret Thatcher calls "the ratchet effect." When the Left gets power, they aggressively advance their cause. When we get power, they lie low, hold their gains, and wait patiently for better days, nourished by burning ideological conviction, and by the support and encouragement of wealthy airheads like Jane Fonda. **NR**

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The M Factor

How modesty works for W.

NOEMIE EMERY

THE new Bush regime is aggressively modest. Gone is the "Blue Goose," the huge royal podium. Gone are the strains of "Hail to the Chief," and the ruffles and flourishes. Bush moves around without a large retinue. He defers to the people he meets. His mark, as the columnist Marjorie Williams has said, is "flamboyant humility." This is Bush's key to defusing the anger of Democrats, like starving a fire of air. Showing humility—being civil, polite, unassuming, nonthreatening, unobtrusive, attentive to law, and respectful of others—has made George W. Bush what he is at the moment: the most powerful man in the world.

From 1994, when he took on Ann Richards, through 2000, when he took on Al Gore, into 2001, when he played off an imploding Bill Clinton, Bush has risen and thrived by opposing people who tried to be oversized, and goading them into new heights of folly and arrogance. Life-sized, he sometimes attempts to be smaller. Canny, he sometimes plays dumb. Al Gore and Bill Clinton tried to know and do everything; Bush accepts his own limits. Clinton and Gore claimed credit for everything, to the point of self-parody; Bush happily ladles it out. Clinton and Gore tried to overwhelm others with what they saw as their virtues; Bush likes to let people be surprised, as they slowly discover his own. Clinton used public disasters as occasions to emote; Bush's reactions are more restrained. He chose not to exploit a recent school shooting. Said an aide, "He thinks it's inappropriate to make himself the bride at that wedding." Bush often chooses not to answer his critics, counting on their stridency to be counterproductive. As he turns his cheek to his enemies, their blows land on themselves. Humility so far has done very well by this president, giving him a rise in record time to the heights of power, giving new meaning to what the meek will inherit. Less is not only more; it can sometimes be everything. So it has been for George Bush.

Noemie Emery, a writer in Alexandria, Virginia, is at work on a book about political dynasties.

RUNNING COOL

Elected governor of Texas in 1990, Ann Richards had become a Star, a darling of the glitterati on the two coasts, a legend in her time and in her own mind. Fully aware of her rock-star status, she took Bush's run against her as an affront, calling him "clueless" and "Junior" and "Shrub." Trying to rattle him, she showed her contempt at all moments. By contrast, Bush stayed relentlessly civil, always addressing her as "Governor Richards." Asked about her attacks on himself and his family, he denied any ill will toward her: "I find her to be an interesting soul." In their debate, Richards tried to provoke him, to no avail. "She was so consumed with him, I knew that we had her," said Karl Rove later. At last, she blew up and called Bush a "jerk" at a rally. He won by seven points.

Unlike Ann Richards, Al Gore was no Star, but he too tried to be larger than life. He made himself into a super-aggressor, a comic-book hero, whom no mere human being could match. A large man, he attempted to make himself larger, bounding on stage, wearing tight shirts to show off his muscles, hiring an image guru to make him even more the Alpha Male. ("What has happened to the poor man's body?" asked the columnist Michael Kelly. "Someone needs to check the videotape on this, but I am pretty sure that Al Gore did not used to have a 23-inch neck.") A relentless aggression informed Gore's campaign; he used the word "fight" constantly. Like Richards, he tried to unnerve Bush in debate, interrupting him, mugging, and noisily sighing and groaning. This did not distract Bush as much as it did viewers, who developed a dim view of Gore. Bush, meanwhile, was discreet and courteous. Given the closeness of the final electoral outcome—and the fact that

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Gore lost his lead while the debates were ongoing—Gore should regret not having been humble. If he had been, he might be president today.

In this way, Bush was helped by Richards and Gore. And then there was Bill. Bill Clinton, the soul of restraint and good judgment! Bill Clinton, that vacuum for attention and money. During Bush's convention, Clinton made eight political speeches, taking swipes both at Bush and his father, none of which much helped the Democrats. On the Thursday before Gore's convention, Clinton gave a long page-one confessional to an audience of ministers about his "moral growth." This did not make the Gore people happy. On the convention's first night, Clinton made his triumphal long stalk to the podium, where he was expected to launch his would-be successor. Instead, he heaped praise on himself. The same traits that led Clinton to upstage Gore's campaign and convention led him to try to preempt George Bush's inauguration, with a steady stream of farewell addresses, ending in the hour-long televised wallow at Andrews Air Force Base. Around this were many more displays of Clintonian arrogance and greed. Soon, the editors of the *New York Times* and other liberal Democrats were praising George Bush's approach to his office. As Ann Richards had done much to make him governor, and Al Gore had done much to make him president, Bill Clinton had done much to make him a legitimate president, blessed with a honeymoon, and facing a harassed, distracted opposition. Seldom has humility been so empowering. Seldom has restraint wrought so much.

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Bush is modest in his views of himself and the government, while believing that both have some power to do certain things well.

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The word "humility" may not seem to go well with such words as "Texas" and "president," but it can. A Texan, Bush is still a New England transplant, with layers and layers of ancestral reticence, and parents and grandparents who warned constantly against bragging. A religious man, he holds the belief of believers that God, and not man, shapes human endeavors. A conservative, he holds modest views about the role of the government and government power. A Republican with an activist agenda, he still has an anti-utopian mindset. He will take many small steps, not declare wars on poverty. He will use American power to serve American allies and interests, not to remake foreign governments.

Correctly, he has linked grandiose schemes to personal arrogance, as in his statement about Yale in the '60s, set down in that keen book *First Son* by Bill Minutaglio: "What angered me was the way such people . . . felt intellectually superior and so righteous. They thought they had all the answers. They thought they would create a government that would solve all our problems . . . I saw an intellectual arrogance that I hope I never have." This was his reaction to the time and place that produced Ira Magaziner and Hillary Rodham, who produced the monstrous top-down health-care scheme, which produced the Republican coup in the midterm elections, of which Bush's election as governor was part. Hillary and her group indeed thought they had "all the answers." Bush's plans are based on the idea that other people have answers, and he tries to give more power to them: to let them decide how to spend their own money; to let them decide how to plan for retirement; to let many small, diverse, dispersed, private bodies find their own ways to solve problems.

Only our second real Texas president (the elder George Bush should not count), Bush is the inverse of Lyndon B. Johnson. He is trying to bring activism back to its pre-LBJ levels, before the Great Society blew it out of proportion, and crashed on the rocks of reality. Johnson, like Clinton, was grandiose about both himself and the government; other Democrats—George McGovern, Walter F. Mondale—were modest about themselves, but grandiose in their views of government. Bush is modest in his views of himself and the government, while believing that both have some power to do certain things well. By post-'60s, post-Clinton lights, this viewpoint qualifies as humility. And it can strike many chords.

A PRESIDENTIAL DIFFERENCE

The Bush Effect in itself can often seem modest; it is sometimes barely noticeable. His political means of support are, on occasion, invisible. Compared with other political leaders, he sometimes seems defined by the things that he isn't, the traits he seems not to have. He lacks the glamour of Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Reagan, and all their off-the-cuff eloquence. He lacks Ike's grin, and his war reputation. He can't establish intimacy with millions of strangers, as could Roosevelt and Reagan; massage an audience, as could Clinton; or thrill one, as could JFK. He inhabits the stage, but does not overwhelm it. He does not pretend to have mastered each topic. He cannot bring crowds to their feet. In fact, the list of his "can't"s or "isn't"s is so long that it can come as a shock to open *The Presidential Difference*, Fred Greenstein's authoritative book on political leadership, and realize that of the six points Greenstein lists as essential, Bush is proficient in no fewer than five of them, and is fast coming up in the sixth. That sixth is public communication; his speech delivery is quickly improving. In the other five, Bush can be seen to excel. He has been able to assemble a loyal staff that works well together. He handles timing and pressure deftly. He has had a governing vision—"compassionate conservatism"—since his father's 1988 campaign. His steady focus on a handful of issues shows an ability to prioritize, the lack of which has crippled many intelligent presidents. And in the last item, emotional intelligence, Bush is far closer to the Reagan-Roosevelt model than to its opposite, the more cerebral, less intuitive Carter-Clinton-Nixon-Gary Hart model. Bush has a big-picture feel for the shape of a subject—a tonal sense for the mood of the people—that makes up for any weakness on detail. This set of skills is not itself modest, but it does tend to operate under

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the radar, creating the sense of a presence that is unobtrusive as it steadily moves towards goals. It also makes Bush an elusive figure (and target), able to rise for no obvious reasons, with nothing quite like a defining moment, a burst of eloquence, or the candlepower of some other men. The Bush Effect is to make things occur without seeming to do so—a gift without price.

Somehow, George W. Bush has done a great deal. He has usually run as the lightweight, the rookie, against veterans with much more experience and, as they believe, brains. He has contrived to upend expectations. After three years in Austin, he so impressed his fellow Republican governors—all ambitious, and many with much more experience—that they campaigned to make him the nominee of their party. He proceeded to rake in record sums of money. In his third big campaign, and his first for national office, he ran a better campaign than did Gore—a 24-year political veteran, running with layers of pricey consultants, in his fourth go on the national stage. With the Cold War gone and the wedge issues neutralized, Bush ran on the Democrats' favorite issues, with programs the polls said were unpopular. He touched the "third rail" of electoral politics and lived on to urge privatization. In the Florida aftervote, Bush delegated, stayed calm, and made a few key decisions, while Gore wore out his welcome by blitzing the airwaves. Taking office without a popular victory, with a Florida edge inside of the margin of error, he managed a successful transition and a honeymoon. These things—this string of these things—doesn't happen by accident. So how *do* they happen? Bush doesn't say.

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Bush builds situations in which things happen for and around him, without open displays of effort or arrogance.

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The Bush Effect is the impression of modesty, the effect of success without cause. Quietly, humbly, Bush builds situations in which things happen for and around him, without open displays of effort or arrogance. According to *First Son*, as the 2000 debates approached, Ann Richards grew nervous. She knew Gore was leading. She knew Gore was billed as a killer debater. She knew he should blow Bush away. Still, she was worried, but not because she thought Gore might do something terrible: She was afraid that "no matter what Bush or Gore said, Bush would somehow never be perceived to have lost." She knew what could happen; it had happened to her. In their 1994 debate, Richards was sure she had been right on cue. "I thought I'd kicked his ass," she said later. Then she saw the post-debate polls and analyses, and the Bush tush had been strangely undented. Somehow her blows had been neutralized. Writes Minutaglio, "No one said that Bush had gotten his ass kicked . . . Though no one was listening, she felt something similar was going to happen to Gore." Of course, it did happen. Gore and Richards still don't know how it happened. And Bush is too modest to tell. **NR**

Minding the 'Golden Door'

Toward a restrictionism that can succeed

RAMESH PONNURU

REMEMBER the immigration debate of the '90s? Just a few years ago, immigration was a major issue in national politics. No longer. Back then, Congress was on the verge of cutting immigration levels. Now it's considering raising them. In the polls, public support for reductions in legal immigration has dropped 20 points from its mid-'90s peak. Republicans in California, who once thought they could make big gains by appealing to anti-immigration sentiment, now blame their efforts to do so for destroying the state party. Nationally, Republicans take every opportunity to say how good immigration has been for America.

What happened? My colleague John J. Miller wrote an article for *Reason* two years ago that listed several reasons for the shift: the tendency of public support for immigration to wax and wane with the economy; the development in Washington of a savvy pro-immigration lobby linking business and ethnic groups; and the widespread belief among Republicans that an anti-immigrant image hurt them badly among Hispanic and Asian voters.

Miller's article was persuasive on each point. But he did not linger on the question whether the restrictionists could have done a better job making their case—and for those of us who find that case compelling, it is an important question. The anti-immigration movement of the '90s raised serious issues, especially about the way continued mass immigration contributes to the balkanization of America, that had been too long ignored. Anxiety about those issues is bound to find political expression again in years to come. If restrictionists draw the right lessons from their failure last time, it may help them to prevail then.

TACTICAL ERRORS

The first tactical mistake was to insist on a moratorium on immigration, as leading critics of the status quo such as NATIONAL REVIEW and Patrick Buchanan did. The appeal of a moratorium was understandable. America had blundered into its current immigration policy rather than deliberately chosen it; a cutoff would let us design a rational policy from scratch. Simply proposing a moratorium forced a debate on the costs and benefits of continuing the existing policy. Restrictionists hoped that it would produce a compromise in which immigration was cut.

It didn't quite work out that way. The demand for a moratorium obscured the true position of the restrictionists. It made it seem as though they opposed all immigration, when in the main they wanted less immigration or different criteria for immigration or both. Proposing to end all immigration, even temporarily (a qualification that was usually, and pre-

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dictably, ignored), also raised the emotional temperature of the debate on both sides.

The moratorium may have excited anti-immigration voters more than a proposal to halve immigration levels would have. But it also struck many voters as a sign of blanket hostility to immigrants—which was unwise in a country where 14 percent of adult citizens are either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. The exit polls from the Republican presidential primaries in 1996 told the tale: In places where few immigrants lived, the issue favored Buchanan but was not important; where there were more immigrants, the issue had greater power but, on balance, hurt him. Where immigrants were an issue, they were also a constituency.

The restrictionists might have succeeded had they staked out a position that was anti-immigration (or at least against constantly high levels of immigration) but *pro-immigrant*. Had they done so, they would have really pressed the argument that reducing immigration levels would encourage the assimilation of those let in and thus serve the long-term interests of immigrants themselves. Restrictionists did, in fact, make that argument. But it was drowned out by less palatable ones. The moratorium was one reason for this. Another was the kitchen-sink quality of the prevailing critique: Immigrants were damned for stealing American jobs, and also for going on welfare.

Which brings us to California's Proposition 187. That ballot initiative was, in retrospect, the high-water mark of the restrictionist campaign. But it was a Pyrrhic victory. Proposition 187 was an attempt to end government benefits, such as welfare and public education, for illegal immigrants. The distinction between legal and illegal immigrants was a distraction: It didn't matter in terms either of the restrictionists' ultimate goals or public opinion. As Mark Krikorian, executive director of the restrictionist-leaning Center for Immigration Studies, puts it, "There's a perception by a lot of folks that immigration I like must be legal immigration and immigration I dislike must be illegal immigration."

The emphasis on government benefits, meanwhile, might in theory have provided common ground between pro-immigration and anti-immigration conservatives—although many pro-immigration conservatives opposed 187 because of its spirit. But nothing could have been calculated to alienate Hispanics more than the perceived suggestion that they were welfare chiselers when, as their labor-force-participation rates suggest, they have a strong work ethic. The campaign for the initiative, especially the infamous, they-keep-coming ad featuring grainy footage of Mexicans crossing the border, didn't help.

The libertarian compromise—immigration sí, welfare no, as Tom Bethell put it in *The American Spectator*—was also reflected in the welfare-reform bill Congress passed in 1996. Half of the savings it projected came from benefit cuts for legal, unnaturalized immigrants. The cuts, again, made the Republicans appear to be anti-immigrant even as they remained objectively pro-immigration. (They also put restrictionists in the curious position of telling immigrants to naturalize in order to get welfare.) That anti-immigrant reputation was reinforced by Congress's decision not only to toughen deportation laws but also to make the new laws retroactive. A political backlash caused the quick reversal of most of those policies, but the damage to the Republicans was done.

A pro-immigrant, anti-immigration position would arguably have been both more humane and more politically sustainable than the position Republicans, influenced by a misguided restrictionist movement, actually took. But that position was made impossible by an even deeper, and more morally serious, mistake of the movement: its racialization of the issue.

THAT OLD BUGABOO, RACE

Peter Brimelow, formerly a senior editor of NR, was the chief intellectual force behind the restrictionist movement of the 1990s. In a 1992 cover story for the magazine, his 1995 book *Alien Nation*, and subsequent NR articles, Brimelow bravely and wittily challenged the elite pro-immigration consensus and the taboos that sustained it. In so doing, he opened a debate that had been artificially closed for too long. But for all his impressive polemical talents, he opened the debate on terms that almost guaranteed the restrictionists' failure.

In *Alien Nation*, Brimelow repeatedly declared that mass immigration is a threat to the commonweal because it alters the country's racial composition. But he never made a cogent argument why the country's racial balance, as opposed to its culture or cultural cohesion, is worth preserving. Nor did he argue that a culture can be preserved in its essentials only through racial stasis. Instead, he said that this thesis was a matter of "common sense" that only the blinkered politically correct would deny, supplementing this obscurantism with frequent cryptic remarks about race being "destiny in American politics."

Cultures and races overlap, of course, and admitting Asians and Hispanics to America at the rate we are doing will have cultural consequences because they are bearers of their cultures. But it is those consequences that ought to concern us, not race per se. The point of assimilation is that culture can transcend race. The biologization of the argument against immigration distorted that argument in several ways. The implications for American blacks, for example, became hopelessly muddled. Brimelow frequently argued that immigrants pose a threat to the economic interests of black Americans. But in order to further the case against immigration, he also argued that biracial societies inevitably fail.

Supporters of continuous mass immigration would certainly have painted restrictionists as racists in any case, as indeed they had done before Brimelow. But the restrictionists handed them ammunition. In the afterword to the paperback edition of *Alien Nation*, Brimelow suggests that by raising the topic of racial balances he freed more timid souls to make other objections to immigration. But this seems a misreading. The restrictionist cause was made disreputable by what could fairly be described as its obsession with race.

That obsession also led to an ahistorical analysis of America's experience of immigration. Previous immigrant waves were held to be less disruptive than today's because yesterday's immigrants were "white"—even though Italians

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and Slavs were by no means regarded as such at the time. One conservative columnist, for example, wrote that immigration at the turn of the last century was not analogous to immigration today because, back then, immigrants "all came from societies that respected law and had common concepts of justice, liberty, and individual responsibility." Like czarist Russia?

To treat racial categories as fixed and immutable leads not only to bad history but to bad predictions. The notion that American whites will soon become a minority surrounded by Asians and Hispanics, which is central to *Alien Nation*, depends on the assumed immiscibility of those groups. But one of the arguments for reducing immigration is that it would encourage assimilation, including intermarriage, and thus reduce the importance of racial distinctions. It is not, however, an argument that can be made by those for whom such distinctions are everything.

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Pro-immigrationists refuse to engage in any analysis of what level of immigration would be best for America. And the restrictionists are complicit in this failure.

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The fixation on race has become more pronounced as the restrictionists' political influence has declined. A case in point is Brimelow's recent attack on NR for having "caved on immigration"—an attack posted on his website, vdare.com (named for Virginia Dare, the first English child born in North America). His proof is that William F. Buckley Jr. does not believe that America should try to preserve its racial balance—even though Brimelow also notes that immigration is about much more than race. He refers as well to a "magisterial review" in another publication by one James Lubinskas, an essay that laments that NR gave up on defending racial segregation in the South. So much for Brimelow's previous argument that immigration should be opposed out of tenderhearted solicitude for the economic interests of the black underclass.

Brimelow quotes Lubinskas's remark that NR has sunk so low that it now publishes attacks on "popular white conservatives"—he means, oddly enough, Pat Buchanan—by "senior editors with Indian surnames." NR can thus no longer be considered an ally, Lubinskas writes, in fighting "the displacement of the country's founding stock by aliens." (The Lubinskas clan, one assumes, came over on the *Mayflower*.) Since even most whites find this sort of stuff repellent and absurd, a movement that traffics in it will quickly achieve the irrelevance it deserves. No matter how much it talks about preserving America, its hostility to the country we actually live in will speak louder.

GETTING BACK ON OUR FEET

None of this is to excuse the follies of the pro-immigrationists. They have never thought much about the cultural preconditions of nationhood. They constantly say that "America is more than a nation, it's an idea." But the restrictionists rightly observe that America is more than an idea—it's a nation. And nations are held together not just by shared political ideas, on which people of the same nation can disagree and people of different nations can agree, but by a common culture.

Because they generally do not recognize the importance of a common culture, advocates of high immigration have given lip service, at best, to assimilation. Some pro-immigration conservatives, to be sure, have argued that high levels of immigration are compatible with vigorous efforts at assimilation. They argue, for example, that the schools should teach English. But even they have not drawn any lessons from the failure of any practical politician to follow their lead in making a distinction between high immigration and multiculturalism. Hispanics voted heavily against the English-language initiative in California in 1998. And George W. Bush, in seeking the Hispanic vote, challenged neither immigration nor "bilingual education."

And like the restrictionists, the high-immigration crowd has its own historical myths. They will often note that a century ago people had the same concerns about Italian immigrants as they do now about Hispanics. They do not stop to consider that the assimilation of Italian-Americans took place largely during an immigration pause—let alone that there might have been a connection between the two phenomena.

Very few supporters of immigration take the extreme view of the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, who want a constitutional amendment that says, "There shall be open borders." (No joke.) But few of them take their opposition to open borders to its logical conclusion: that if there is no reason in principle that immigration cannot be limited, there is also no reason in principle that that limit cannot be set at a lower level than today's. They refuse to engage in any analysis of what level of immigration would be best for America.

And the restrictionists, because they have made it so easy for supporters of immigration to avoid this analysis, are complicit in this failure. It isn't as though there were no other models of an anti-immigration politics available: In the mid-'90s, Nathan Glazer, Glenn Loury, and the commission led by Barbara Jordan all advocated a moderate restrictionist position. And there were, in fact, lively disagreements among anti-immigration activists. But too many of them indulged the fantasy that they could make immigration the central, realigning issue of American politics. They used apocalyptic rhetoric: The country was being "inundated," it might not survive, etc.

Even if they believed their own rhetoric, they should have been more careful. Seven years ago, John O'Sullivan concluded a cover story on immigration in NR by asking pro-immigration conservatives to reconsider their position because "the survival of America is a big thing to get wrong." I favor cutting immigration not because America's survival is at stake, but because it would make for a stronger, more cohesive America. But if uncontrolled immigration really does put America's survival at stake, a strategy to change that policy is a pretty big thing to get wrong, too. **NR**

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Missile Defense: The Time Is Now

Stop talking and start building

RICHARD LOWRY

GENUFLECT first, ask questions later. Or so goes the reasoning at the State Department, the part of government most likely to keep missile defense—finally on the cusp of reality—from ever happening. A February 2 "secret" memorandum from assistant secretary of state Avis T. Bohlen—a Clinton holdover—to Secretary Colin Powell nicely captures the institutional mindset at State. Bohlen recommends doing nothing precipitous on missile defense—in fact recommends doing nothing at all, at least not until the completion of another, endless round of consultations, discussions, and general reassurances and temperature-takings with almost any foreign power willing to consult and discuss.

"We should not withdraw from the [Anti-Ballistic Missile] treaty," Bohlen warns Powell, "until we know what will replace it as part of a strategic stability framework." That could take a *long* time. "We should look for ways to make NMD [national missile defense] and its evolution appear less threatening to the Russians and, if possible, the Chinese." "The allies want real consultations *before* decisions are made, not briefings on what we have decided." "Early discussions with the Russians could be a valuable input to the Administration's policy deliberations." What Bohlen recommends, in short, is a policy of logorrhea. And early indications are that Powell is eager to gab. He wanted to continue the Clinton administration's talks with the North Koreans (the president himself put the brakes on that idea), and reportedly wanted to continue the Clinton administration's "experts level" talks with the Russians on missile defense. (Powell now denies this.) Well, what are diplomats for, if not talking?

Vladimir Putin by Roman Genn

But this is the now-or-never moment for missile defense. The Bush administration may be at the apex of its power, and the allies—convinced, for now, that the administration is serious about missile defense—are at their most cooperative. If the administration doesn't immediately begin building a ground-based system—as a first step toward a larger, more capable defense—and announce our imminent withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, the status quo will quickly settle back in again. The schedule for fielding a system would be delayed beyond 2005, pushing it ever further into the mists of the future, and heightening its political vulnerability to the charge that it will never be a reality (despite *all the billions* spent on it). Meanwhile, the ABM Treaty will remain an archaic and irrational, but unmovable, obstacle to missile defense. More talk—more diplomatic business-as-usual—could keep the U.S. from ever defending itself against ballistic-missile attack.

APPEASEMENT AND HAIRSPLITTING

Talk has never served missile defense well. In 1993, the Clinton administration slashed funding for the project, denying that the U.S. faced a missile threat at all. When the Rumsfeld Commission in 1998 exposed that position as wishful thinking, the administration resorted to the next best way to kill missile defense—consulting with the Russians. From early 1999 to the bitter end, the administration talked to the Russians about modifying the ABM Treaty to allow for a limited defense system. The talks never actually rose to the level of full-blown "negotiations" because the Russians insisted they would only "discuss" the treaty, not negotiate changes.

So, this process was born in appeasement and sustained by niggling legal hairsplitting. The Clinton administration proposed a missile system with Russian sensitivities (such as they are) in mind. The U.S. would ignore the threat coming from Iran or Iraq because defenses stationed in the American Northeast—with radars located in England and Greenland—might seem capable of defending against Russian missiles as well. Instead, then, the U.S. would focus in the other direction, on the threat from the Far East. One antimissile site would be built in Alaska as a first step that would assuage Russian fears and allow the U.S. eventually to convince Putin & Co. to accept a more advanced system.

The Clinton administration initially tried—in a burst of obfuscation of the sort usually reserved for its jousting with Kenneth Starr—to maintain that the Alaska site wouldn't violate the ABM Treaty, even though Article I of the treaty states that a signatory is "not to deploy ABM systems for a defense of the territory of its country." Eventually, the administration dropped this argument. It instead asked the Russians for a special protocol to the treaty that would permit the Alaska site. In effect, national missile defense would still be banned, except for this *particular* national missile defense. The strategy was to get the Russians to go along with the smaller changes to the treaty first, then to tackle the really hard question of whether anything like the ABM Treaty should exist at all. This, of course, gave Russia an incentive never to agree to the initial changes, which is exactly what it did, stiffing the U.S. and keeping the treaty—signed in 1972—intact.

How to get out of this trap? Simply begin work on the Alaska system right away. Though the Clinton administration's rationale for the Alaska plan was suspect, the system makes sense as a starting point. It would have two parts: the X-band radar on Shemya (an Alaskan island), and 100 interceptors in the center of the state. The radar will be necessary to any comprehensive defense of the U.S., whether this defense eventually depends on sea-, land-, air-, or space-based components (or, best, some combination of all in a "layered" system). And the

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radar is the element of the Alaska project that will take the longest to build—work on the forbidding Shemya is possible only three or four months out of the year; hence the urgency in getting started this summer. Meanwhile, the 100 interceptors would have advantages as well. Alaska is closer to North Korea than to parts of the United States, so the system there would protect against threats from the Far East. But it also could provide some coverage for the East Coast, thanks to its location near the top of the world. (Since there is less longitude at the top, the distances the interceptors would have to cover are much shorter—a look at a globe tells the story.)

But Alaska has critics among both liberal and conservative partisans of a sea-based system. They support converting a tactical missile defense, the Navy Theater Wide (NTW) system, into one capable of intercepting strategic missiles. This idea has its attractions: Such a system would intercept a missile when it is "hot and slow" in its boost phase—presenting an easier target—rather than try to destroy it when it is "cold and hard," descending toward earth at maximum speed. But NTW is behind the ground-based system in its development—it has never attempted an intercept, even against a tactical-range target. It is also dependent on the positioning of ships close to enemy launch sites, which means that it might not be able to defend against launches far inland or ones that catch the U.S. unawares. So, it makes sense to build—again, as a first step toward a more comprehensive, layered system—a ground-based defense that will be in place to take shots at all incoming missiles.

More important, breaking ground at Shemya would represent a crucial break with the ABM Treaty and, by extension, the parchment gods of arms control. A decision to go ahead—which this year would involve mostly just digging—would mean that the U.S. is constructing a system that directly violates the treaty. The only honest thing for Washington to do in such circumstances would be to announce that it is exercising its right under the ABM Treaty to withdraw (after giving six months' notice). Anything short of this would leave the treaty's web of prohibitions in place to hamper the research, development, and deployment of defenses. Even if the Russians were, in theory, to agree to changes in the ABM Treaty immediately, those changes wouldn't go into force until ratified by the Duma, creating an irresistible opportunity to string the U.S. along.

WORSE THAN OUTDATED: DANGEROUS

By now, the ABM Treaty should be a dusty embarrassment to proponents of arms control. When it was signed, only the Soviet Union deployed Scud technology. Now, 22 nations do. Missile know-how today spreads like a social disease. For instance, Russia and then China helped North Korea develop its own Scuds. North Korea, in turn, marketed its Scuds to Egypt, Iran, Syria, Vietnam, and the United Arab Emirates. Meanwhile, its more ambitious *No Dong* missile—with a range of 1,300 kilometers—has gone to Pakistan, Iran, and Libya. And because North Korea's *Taepo Dong-1*—capable of reaching Alaska and, with smaller payloads, even the Lower 48—is a boot-strap creation combining Scud and *No Dong* boosters, these other nations are presumably within reach of having intercontinental ballistic missiles of their own. While academic theory may have justified the "balance of terror" with the Soviet Union, by what theory should the U.S. remain vulnerable to any third-rate power sold missile technology by Russia or China?

The ABM Treaty is increasingly the international equivalent of the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance bill, a regulatory nightmare built on flimsy legalisms. The treaty created an artificial distinction between theater missile defenses against shorter-range missiles (acceptable) and national missile defense against longer-range missiles (unacceptable). So the Clinton administration agonized over whether America's THAAD theater-defense system violated the treaty. The uncertainty was understandable, since THAAD was meant to counter China's CSS-2, a theater-range missile with a range of about 3,000 kilometers. The least capable *strategic* missile in the early 1970s was the Soviet SSN-6, a submarine-launched missile with a range of about 3,000 kilometers. Thus, theater defenses have blended with strategic-missile defenses. Who's to know what's forbidden and what's not?

Defenders of the ABM Treaty argue that one parchment irrelevancy justifies another. If the United States withdraws from the treaty, they contend, it will lose the START II agreement with the Russians and never be able to negotiate START III. Yeah, so? The START II accord, with its emphasis on Cold War arcana such as the "de-MIRVing" of missiles, already seems an artifact from a bygone era. In any case, it will never go into force, because the Russian Duma has made its ratification dependent on the U.S. Senate's swallowing extensions of the ABM Treaty, which the American body has found unacceptable. As for a proposed START III agreement, circumstances have made it a risible redundancy. The Russians built their missiles with short lifespans, planning to modernize them constantly. The Russian economy now makes that impossible. The number of Russian strategic warheads is expected to drop from 6,000 or so to fewer than 1,500 in 2010, well below the START III target level of 2,000–2,500 warheads. But this doesn't stop the Russians from dangling a START III agreement as an incentive for the U.S. to preserve the ABM Treaty, in what would amount to arms-control inanity in the service of arms-control folly.

Russia is joined in its braying against missile defense by China, because the countries have a confluence of interests. To the extent that the U.S. is vulnerable to missile threats—including to the clients of Russia and China—its ability to act in the world is circumscribed. So it's in the interest of both an ex-superpower and a rising Asian power to see the United States remain naked unto the world. As for the idea that a missile-defense system would prompt an arms race with China, the Clinton administration assiduously avoided building a system for eight years, and the Chinese still amassed an arsenal of intercontinental missiles. At the moment, of course, the United States is vulnerable to 100 percent of Chinese missiles. How could it be *worse* off with a missile defense that can protect against a Chinese launch, even if China doubles or triples its force? Only an arms-control expert could explain that, and his world may be becoming to an end—provided the Bush administration digs at Shemya and lets the Russians know that, at least when it comes to more missile-defense negotiations, silence is golden. **NR**

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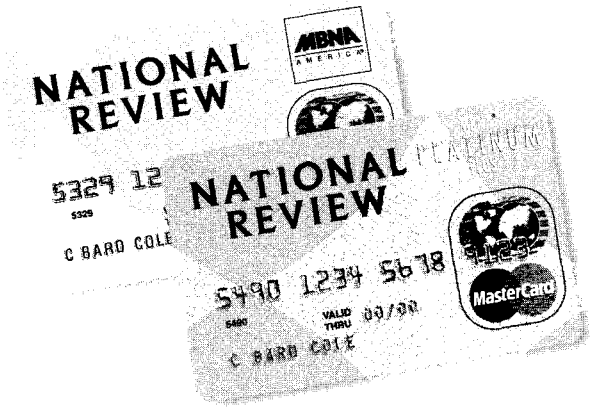

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The White House
Washington, D.C.

MEMORANDUM

To: All White House personnel
From: Andrew Card, Chief of Staff

RE: Some additional workplace regulations

The President has asked me to thank all of you for making our first 60 days in office such a historic success. Your hard work and dedication are truly appreciated.

As you know, the President has made it clear that his working style, while casual, is quite strict about things like punctuality, proper dress, and maintaining the kind of dignified tone that the White House deserves.

In addition to the previously referenced rules, some additional issues have arisen, and the President has asked me to convey to you the following:

1. By now, the President has presented all of you with nicknames. Please use them to identify yourself to him in the future. It will not be enough to say, for instance, "Hello, Mr. President, I'm your Deputy Undersecretary of Agriculture." Instead, you are requested to say, "Hello, Mr. President, I'm Mojo Jojo, from Ag."

2. Members of the staff will designate a "Cheney Buddy" for each meeting attended by the Vice President. The "Buddy" will monitor the Vice President for a sudden, increased bluish tint to his skin. The "Buddy" will report the change in tint to the Secret Service agent in charge of defibrillation.

3. As most of you know, the President insists that meetings begin on time—or even a bit early—and that they end just as promptly. To facilitate this directive, the President has instructed me to ask the White House Usher to ensure that each meeting room be equipped with one chair fewer than necessary. Latecomers, obviously, will be required to stand. Repeated latecomers will report to the President for nickname removal and/or adjustment.

4. Pretzels, nuts, salty snacks, and any foodstuffs containing trans-fatty acids are prohibited from being served to the Vice President. Anyone breaking this important rule will be in SERIOUS disciplinary trouble. Please note that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Secret Service are currently reviewing White House security tapes to discover who replaced the Vice President's supply of Egg Beaters™ and Sizzlean™ with actual eggs and bacon. This act, however well-meaning, is being treated as an assassination attempt.

5. Please bear in mind, during your INFREQUENT encounters with the White House Press Corps, that providing colorful quotes, interesting anecdotes, and insightful analysis is STRONGLY DISCOURAGED. The President provides the colorful anecdote when deemed necessary. Any encroachment on this privilege will result in the loss of your nickname for not less than nine months.

6. Nicknames are not transferable. If you are unhappy with your nickname, or have a preferred alternate, please SEE ME. Please note that our President does not think of terms such as "Stinky" and "Bellyboy" as negative per se.

7. All videotapes taken from the movie library MUST be rewound FULLY. The President primarily enjoys only the first ten minutes of most movies—the section where, traditionally, action/suspense sequences unfold without the benefit of dialogue and/or characterization—and he finds it tiresome to wait for the tape to rewind, or, worse, to begin watching the movie after the by-the-book cop and the do-anything-gonzo cop have been forced to work together by their gruff African-American supervisor.

8. While we recognize that some of you do, in fact, have naturally twinkling eyes, it would be preferable if those of you who are able to regulate your eye-twinkling would do so. As you know, the President is an inveterate eye-twinkler—this skill has been most effective during our recent "charm offensive"—and we all believe that an excess of eye-twinkling charm amongst the staff might diminish his effectiveness. For further guidelines on moderating your personal charm, please see the attached sheet, "The Rumsfeld Model."

9. Quiet, measured tones must be maintained during all meetings which are attended by Vice President Cheney. Repeated ballpoint-pen clicking, binder-ring snapping, sudden sneezing, and alarming hand gestures are STRICTLY FORBIDDEN, as is suddenly appearing around a corner just as he's coming from the other direction, knocking loudly on his office door while he's absorbed in his reading, or sneaking up behind him and saying hi when he's not aware that you're there.

Thank you all for your prompt attention to this matter. As I said, the first 60 days have been an eventful period. Only by working as a team can we ensure that the remaining 2,860 aren't.

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Pregnant Women and their Babies: Drug War Casualties?

Despite overwhelming medical consensus that pregnant drug users should have access to health care, calls for criminalization and separation of mothers from their newborns continue. Punitive approaches that stigmatize pregnant drug users undermine women and children's health, threaten a range of civil rights and liberties, and dangerously expand the war on drugs. Moreover these approaches are based on dangerous myths:

***MYTH #1:* All drug-exposed children are seriously damaged at birth.**

FACT: Although we by no means wish to condone drug use among pregnant mothers, we were pleased to learn that children whose mothers can't abstain completely from drugs are not necessarily doomed to suffer from permanent medical and physical impairments *provided* their mothers have access to prenatal care.[1] While many newborns do experience adverse short- or long-term consequences from a variety of legal and illegal controlled substances, research has found that there is some hope for Crack-exposed children to escape permanent mental or physical impairment,[2] and whatever effects may exist are greatly overshadowed by poverty's impact on brain development.[3]

***MYTH #2:* Women who use drugs can simply stop.**

FACT: Sudden withdrawal from some drugs can be dangerous to the woman and her pregnancy.[4] Moreover, because addiction is a chronic relapsing condition, it is unrealistic to expect anyone to overcome a drug problem instantaneously or without support. The success and cost-effectiveness of drug treatment is well documented but there is a severe lack of appropriate treatment for women.[5]

***MYTH #3:* Threatening pregnant women who use drugs with criminal penalties or loss of custody protects their children.**

FACT: There is overwhelming medical and public health agreement that punitive approaches will not work because they deter women from seeking prenatal care and drug treatment and undermine the trust essential to the healthcare provider-patient relationship.[6] Calls for punishment unfairly stigmatize both women and children and distract from the real issue: lack of commitment to meaningful drug treatment and reproductive health care for women in this country.

Expectant Mothers Deserve Compassionate Health Care - Not Prison!

1 Andrew Racine et. al., *The Ass'n Between Prenatal Care and Birth Weight Among Women Exposed to Cocaine in New York City,* 270 JAMA 1581, 1585-86 (1993).

2 Deborah A. Frank *et al., Maternal Cocaine Use: Impact on Child Health and Development,* 40 Advances in Pediatrics 65, 92 (1993).("[t]o date no hypothesized or demonstrated effect of in utero-cocaine exposure has been found to be specific to that drug. No studies have shown that prenatal cocaine exposure causes unique developmental dysfunction." See also, Linda C. Mayes et al., *The Problem of Prenatal Cocaine Exposure: A Rush to Judgment,* 267 JAMA 406 (1992).

3 Hallam Hurt et al., *Problem-Solving Ability of Inner-City Children With and Without In Utero Cocaine Exposure,* 20 Dev. & Beh. Pediatrics 418 (Dec. 1999).

4 See Center for Substance Abuse Treatment, Pregnant, Substance-Using Women 6 (1993) (U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Servs.Publication No. (SMA) 93-1998), 19, 26.

5 Id.; Charles Marwick, *Physician Leadership on National Drug Policy Finds Addiction Treatment Works,* 279 JAMA 1149 (1998); Drug Strategies, *Keeping Score, Women And Drugs: Looking at the Federal Drug Control Budget* 16-17 (1998); Vicki Breitbart et al., *The Accessibility of Drug Treatment for Pregnant Women: A Survey of Programs in Five Cities,* 84 Am. J. Pub. Health 1658 (1994).

6 American Academy of Pediatrics, Committee on Substance Abuse, *Drug Exposed Infants,* 86 PEDIATRICS 639, 641 (1990); American Medical Association Board of Trustees, *Legal Interventions During Pregnancy,* 264 JAMA 2663, 2667 (1990); March of Dimes, Statement on Maternal Drug Abuse (1990): Center for the Future of Children, *Recommendations,* in The Future of Children 8 (Richard F. Behrman ed., 1991).

For more information on pregnant women and drugs contact:
Common Sense for Drug Policy at *www.csdp.org, info@csdp.org, www.drugwarfacts.org*
703-354-9050, Kevin B. Zeese, President

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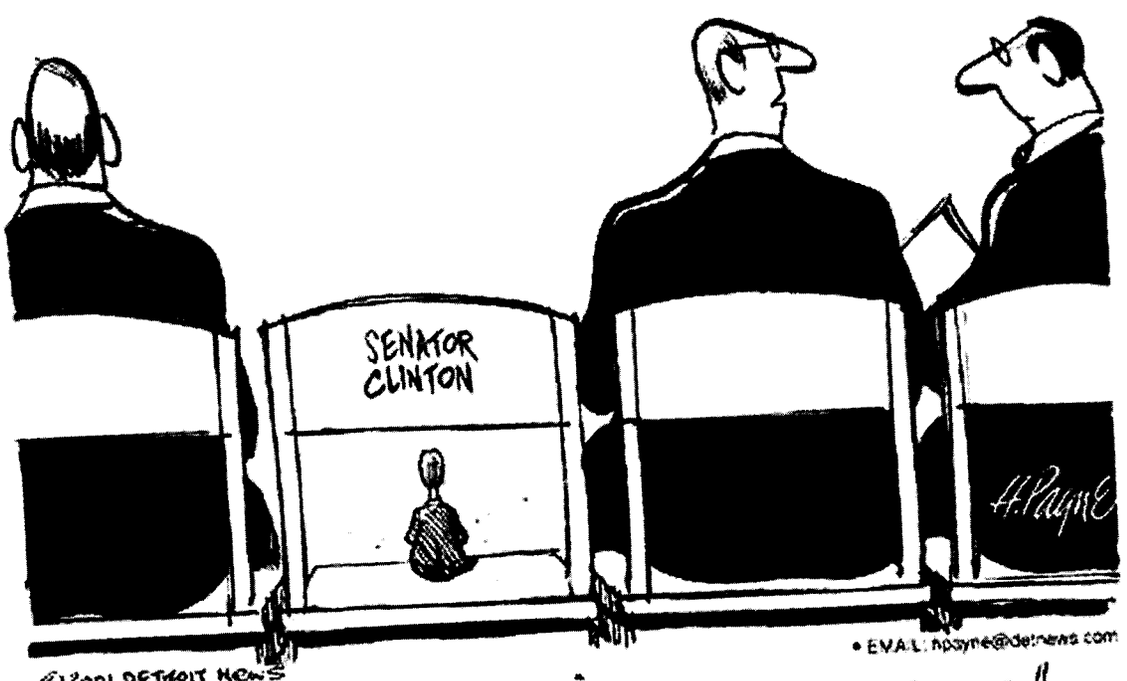

"IT HAPPENED AFTER THE PARDON SCANDAL BROKE."

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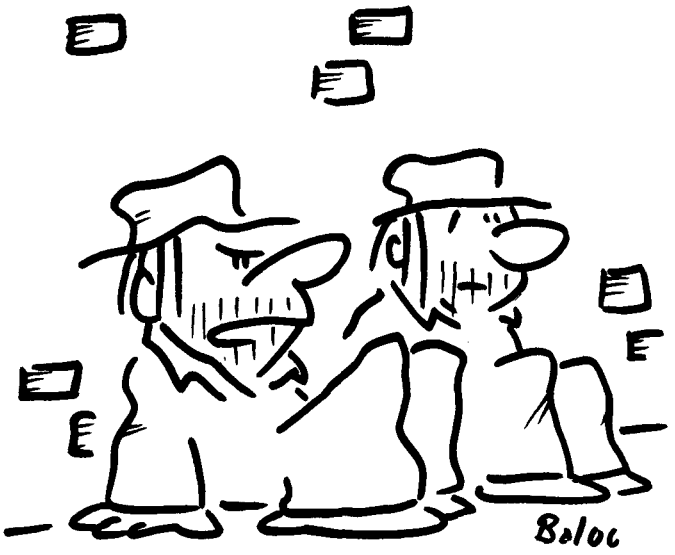

"Hmph!—I had victim status before it was popular!"

The Strom Watch

Like busy ghouls refurbishing
A cemetery's gloom,
Replanting red geraniums—
De rigueur near a tomb;
The Senate Democrats observe
South Carolina, where
The senior senator's demise
Would grant a ghoulish prayer.

—W. H. von Dreele

"BASED ON OUR LATEST COMPUTER MODELS, WE'RE DOWNGRADING THE 'STORM OF THE CENTURY' TO THE STORM OF... UH, WHAT HOUR IS THIS?!..."

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Stealing Darwin

LARRY ARNHART

A Darwinian Left: Politics, Evolution, and Cooperation, by Peter Singer (Yale, 70 pp., $9.95)

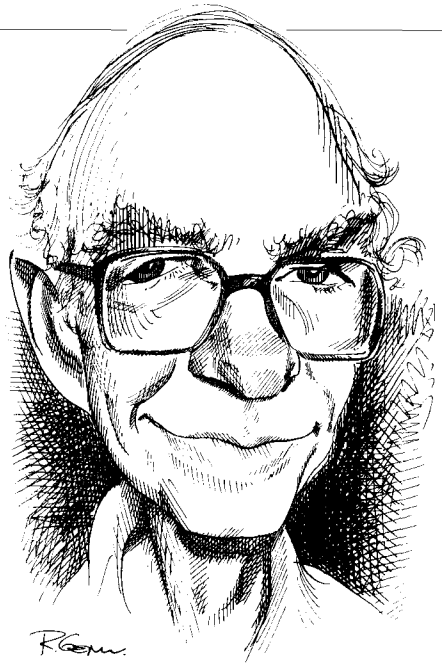
Writings on an Ethical Life, by Peter Singer (Ecco, 361 pp., $27.50)

WHY are conservatives afraid of Darwinian biology? When I recently asked some conservative friends, I was surprised when our discussion turned quickly not to Darwin himself but to Peter Singer, a professor of bioethics at Princeton who identifies himself as a Darwinian leftist. Best known for his advocacy of animal liberation, infanticide, and euthanasia, Singer is an atheist who rejects the sanctity of human life as a religious prejudice refuted by modern biological science. He has also gained notoriety by arguing that Americans should give away all their yearly income over $30,000 to help needy strangers around the world.

This is what happens, my friends insisted, when you adopt a Darwinian view of human nature—you become a loony leftist. But I disagreed. Singer's moral and political arguments are not really Darwinian at all. Moreover, despite Singer's confused (and confusing) intellectual efforts, the truth is that Darwinism actually supports a conservative view of morality as rooted in human nature.

In two recent books—*A Darwinian Left* and *Writings on an Ethical Life*—

Mr. Arnhart is a professor of political science at Northern Illinois University and the author of *Darwinian Natural Right: The Biological Ethics of Human Nature.*



Peter Singer by Roman Genn

Singer lays out his ethical philosophy and draws what he believes are its political implications. The thought behind all of his arguments is that the logic of ethical reasoning leads to one fundamental principle—the impartial consideration of the similar interests of all sentient creatures. This principle runs throughout Singer's *Writings on an Ethical Life*, the starting point of which is Darwin's idea that ethics evolved out of our human nature as shaped by our social instincts and our capacity for reasoning. As social animals, we need the cooperation of our fellow human beings. As intellectual animals, we win their cooperation by defending our conduct in terms of its contribution to the common good. Originally, such ethical impartiality would have been limited to the good of one's racial or tribal group. But as the circle of social interaction expanded, people were eventually led to see that the interests of all human beings deserve equal consideration.

Now, Singer argues, we should expand the circle of ethical concern to include all sentient animals. "Speciesism" is just as unethical as racism, because it is just as arbitrary to deny the moral claims of different species as it is those of different races. Insofar as sentient animals feel pleasure and pain and are capable of enjoyment and suffering, they have legitimate interests that must be given equal weight with those of human beings. (Nonsentient organisms do not deserve such consideration, because they cannot feel pleasure and pain. If a tree feels nothing, then chopping it down just doesn't matter to it.) Singer concedes that special treatment for human beings is sometimes justified, but only in cases where human beings have special interests—such as in education, aesthetic pleasure, and planning for the future—that other sentient creatures lack.

Singer believes that logical reasoning from the principle of ethical impartiality supports his most controversial conclusions. Many people are disturbed, for example, by his claim that the lives of some animals are more valuable than the lives of some human beings. In his *Writings on an Ethical Life*, Singer asserts that "a chimpanzee, dog, or pig . . . will have a higher degree of self-awareness and a greater capacity for meaningful relations with others than a severely retarded infant or someone in a state of advanced senility." Killing a normal human being is more serious than killing another sentient animal only to the extent that human beings normally can plan for the future, while nonhuman creatures cannot. But the lives of human infants with irreversible brain damage are no more valuable than the lives of nonhuman animals that lack the ability to plan for the future. So if we think it morally permissible to kill a nonhuman animal for some good purpose—perhaps to harvest its organs for transplantation in a normal human being—then it should be equally permissible to kill a severely brain-damaged infant.

Moreover, even normal human newborns lack the rational capacities for self-awareness found in some animals; therefore the life of a newborn is not

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necessarily more valuable than that of an animal with greater intellectual capacities. During the first month of life, a human baby has less self-conscious awareness than many nonhuman animals; and therefore the baby is not a "person" with the full legal right to life until it is at least a month old. To insist that the baby deserves better treatment than nonhuman animals with similar or superior capacities would violate Singer's principle of ethical impartiality.

Based on the same logic, Singer exhorts American families to give away their excess income above $30,000 a year. If all normal human beings are entitled to be free from suffering and death, then we are morally justified in spending whatever we need for the necessities of life. Spending our money on luxuries is immoral because it could have been sent to needy strangers elsewhere in the world who will otherwise suffer and die.

But in presenting such judgments as logical deductions from the principle of ethical impartiality, Singer must reject the very Darwinian view of human nature that he professes to accept.

Darwin thought he could explain the human "moral sense" as a joint product of the social emotions and intellectual capacities of the human animal. As social animals, we are moved by social emotions such as sympathy, love, anger, and guilt. Parental emotions move us to care for our children. Sexual emotions move us to care for our mates. Affiliative emotions move us to care for family members and for friends with whom we have developed special bonds. We can feel sympathetic concern for distant strangers, but usually our humanitarian feelings are weaker than our feelings for family, friends, and fellow group members. As intellectual animals, we can generalize these social emotions into customary or legal rules for judging behavior as right or wrong, just or unjust.

Singer claims to accept this sensible, Darwinian view of ethics as combining reason and emotion. "If emotion without reason is blind," Singer explains, "then reason without emotion is impotent." But whenever he defends his left-wing ethics, he assumes that purely logical reasoning from an abstract principle of impartiality should override the social emotions of human nature.

For example, when Singer lays down the conditions justifying infanticide, he insists that "we should put aside feelings based on the small, helpless, and—sometimes—cute appearance of human infants," although he admits that "there are no doubt very good evolutionary reasons why we should instinctively feel protective toward them." Here, he believes, ethical impartiality should override the natural emotions of sympathy because these emotions are "morally irrelevant." But he invokes the same emotions that he earlier dismissed when he goes on to say that killing infants is wrong in most cases because this would "inflict a terrible loss on those who love and cherish the child."

■

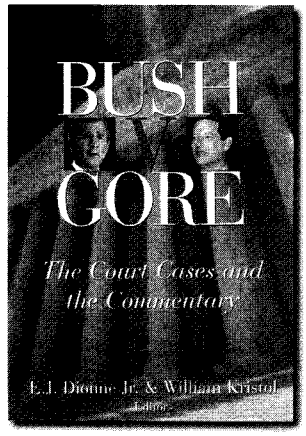
In the end, Singer must reject the very Darwinian view of human nature that he professes to accept.

■

Similarly, when he argues that it is immoral to spend our money on luxuries rather than give it to starving strangers, Singer admits that his argument contradicts the social emotions that give us a stronger attachment to kin and friends than to strangers. He even concludes, "Perhaps a viable ethic must allow us to show a moderate degree of partiality for ourselves, our family, and our friends." But again it would seem that allowing even a "moderate degree of partiality" would deny Singer's purely rational ethics.

When Singer's mother developed Alzheimer's disease, he spent a lot of money to support special care for her. In an interview, Singer admitted that this action contradicted his ethical principles. "In a sense, my spending money on my mother's care is in conflict with that principle. But so is the fact that I flew back to Australia to visit my daughters at Christmas. That money could also be better spent elsewhere. I've never claimed that I live my life perfectly in accordance with those principles of sharing my money as much as I should." This is a strange confession from someone who has declared that "an ethical judgment that is no good in practice

No One Said It Would Be Pretty



Bush v. Gore
The Court Cases and the Commentary
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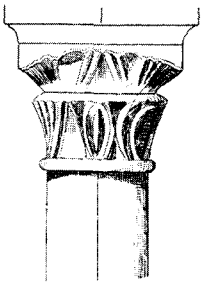
must suffer from a theoretical defect as well, for the whole point of ethical judgments is to guide practice." It is therefore hard to accept that Singer really believes what he is saying. Surely even a Princeton philosopher cannot be so confused as to think that in caring for his sick mother or visiting his children at Christmas, he is acting immorally.

The real source of this confusion is not Singer's Darwinism but his leftism. As Singer indicates in *A Darwinian Left*, the Left has traditionally believed that human nature is so malleable that it can be shaped in almost any direction; therefore social problems can be solved through utopian programs that would make human nature conform to rational norms of social harmony. Although Marx and Engels accepted Darwinism in explaining the animal world, they thought that human history manifested the uniquely human freedom to transcend nature. Contemporary Marxist biologists such as Richard Lewontin and Stephen Jay Gould continue this tradition when they insist on human freedom from the constraints of biological nature.

At some points in *A Darwinian Left*, Singer seems to reject this utopian tradition. According to Singer, a Darwinian Left would accept "that there is such a thing as human nature, and seek to find out more about it, so that policies can be grounded on the best available evidence of what human beings are like." Such a Left would have to realize that natural tendencies (such as social ranking, male dominance, sex roles, and attachment to one's kin) cannot simply be abolished by decree. But the strain in his argument is clear when he confesses, "In some ways, this is a sharply deflated vision of the Left, its utopian ideas replaced by a coolly realistic view of what can be achieved. That is, I think, the best we can do today." In fact, some of his "deflated" leftism would be acceptable to conservatives, who have long assumed that conformity to human nature is a fundamental standard for good social policy. For example, Singer agrees with Adam Smith about the benefits of a market economy in channeling the selfish motivations of human nature in ways that serve the public good.



Singer concludes *A Darwinian Left* by expressing his hope that the human capacity for abstract reasoning will one day "take us beyond the conventional Darwinian constraints on the degree of altruism that a society may be able to foster." This would create "a new kind of freedom" based on a purely rational ethic of impartial concern for all sentient beings, transcending the emotional attachments of biological nature. Presumably, such progress would also free human beings from the natural emotions that promote friendship, familial love, and private property, making it easy for people to kill infants and give away property to strangers.

Of course, most human beings would find the prospect of a society untethered to traditional emotional attachments morally repugnant. We use reason to determine how best to satisfy our desires and justify our actions. Abstract reason by itself would never move us to moral action without the motivation of our desires. Singer's mistake—shared by many left-wing reformers—is to assume that we can organize our moral lives around norms derived from abstract reasoning without guidance from our natural emotions. As Singer sometimes concedes, emotions are important because without them nothing would matter to us. Psychopaths have no moral sense, not because they lack intelligence or the ability to reason logically, but because they lack the social emotions (such as sympathy, love, guilt, and shame) that support morality in normal people. Our emotional recoil at the thought of infanticide, for example, is one way we know it's immoral. Of course, when our moral emotions conflict, then we must employ practical reasoning to develop rules of action to resolve the conflict. But even so, those purely abstract rules of reason move us to act only to the extent that they can elicit the motivational power of our emotional desires.

Ethical naturalists from Aristotle and Aquinas to Adam Smith have shown how our ethical concerns manifest natural human desires. Darwin extended that tradition by showing how those desires were rooted in human biological nature. Consequently, Darwinian social theory provides scientific confirmation for what conservatives already know by common sense: Despite the variability of our moral judgments in different circumstances, enduring standards of right and wrong are rooted in our natural instincts. Singer's confused attempt to justify a Darwinian Left therefore actually helps us to see the potential justification for a Darwinian Right. **NR**

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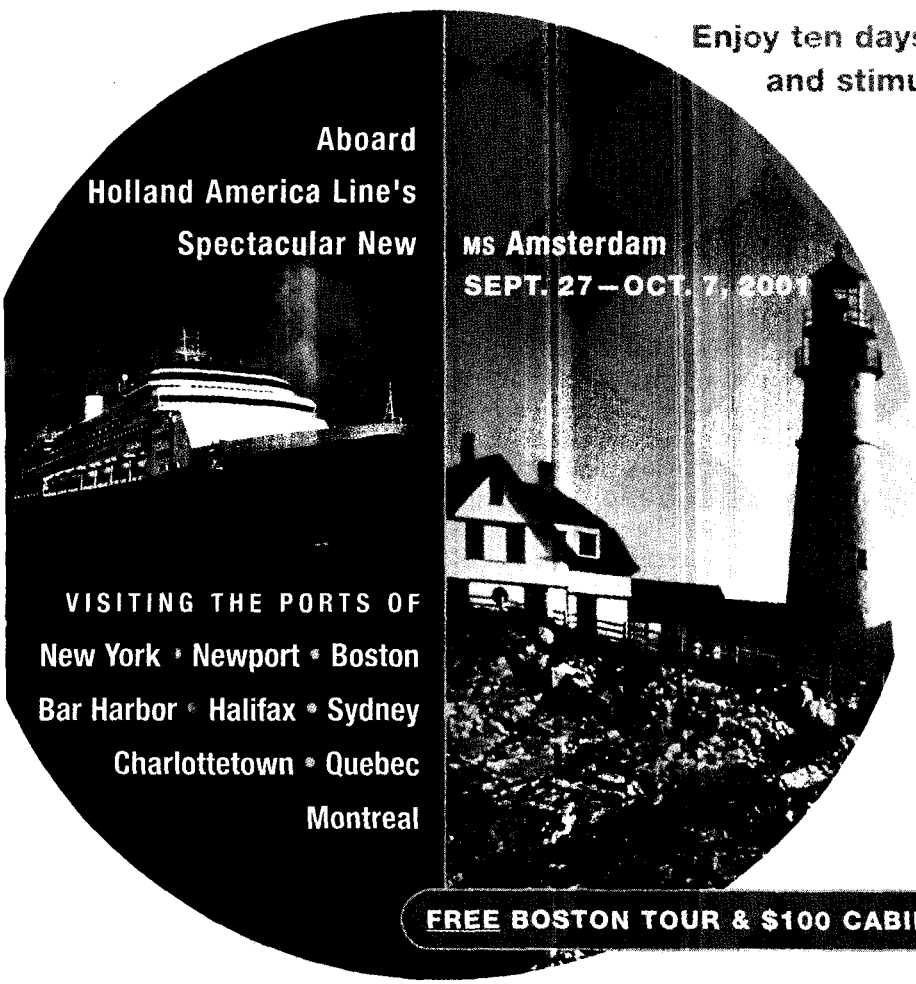
The National Review 2001

CANADA/NEW ENGLAND



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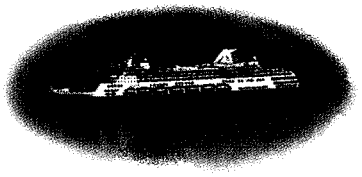

The National Review 2001

CANADA/NEW ENGLAND "FALL FOLIAGE" CRUISE

TEN DAYS OF LUXURY CRUISING AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY 1 You arrive in New York City and board Holland America Line's stunning new MS *Amsterdam*. After getting settled in your spacious cabin, you explore the ship and take in its luxury, comfort, and elegance (so many antiques!). In the late afternoon, we depart the Big Apple, gracefully sailing by Lady Liberty. At night, feast on a gourmet meal (this may be one of the nights when you dine intimately with *NR* editors or guest speakers!), after which there is so much to do: maybe an exciting Broadway-style show, or a quiet cocktail at the piano bar. Whatever you do, you'll find sweet dreams awaiting you in your pleasant quarters.

DAY 2 After a delicious breakfast, you tour Newport: Witness the lavish excesses of this fabled city's Gilded Age by visiting the summer "cottages" of the Vanderbilts, Astors, and Morgans. Come afternoon, it's time for the first of six *National Review* seminars: Each of these exciting, two-hour panel sessions will feature stimulating discussions and debates (plus plenty of "Q&A") from a bevy of conservative all-stars. And what a group we will have on hand to discuss politics and policy: Joining **William F. Buckley Jr.**, will be jurist supreme **Robert Bork**, columnist **Robert Novak**, conservative cultural expert **Linda Chavez**, former Reagan National Security Adviser **Richard Allen**, the incomparable General **Vernon Walters**, the man who knows everybody who is anybody (via stints as CIA boss, ambassador to the U.N. and West Germany, Ike aide, and much more), UPI Editor-in-Chief (and *NR* Editor-at-Large) **John O'Sullivan**, plus the *NR* editorial "gang" of **Kate O'Beirne**, **Rich Lowry**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and **Jay Nordlinger**. Afterwards, relax: Catch an invigorating Indian Summer breeze on the Sky Deck, or use your $100 (per person!) cabin credit (our gift to you if you book by May 1) to indulge yourself with a soothing massage, or to book an additional tour. Then at 6:30 join the *NR* crowd for the first of our exclusive, fun-filled social events: tonight, a cocktail reception in the Crow's Nest Lounge (enjoy the top-shelf liquor, hot hors d'oeuvres, great music, and fantastic company!). Next: another delicious dinner (maybe at the intimate Odyssey Restaurant), followed by a wonderful evening with new-found friends.

SO VERY MUCH TO DO: HOW CAN YOU NOT COME?!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Thursday/Sept. 27	New York		4:45PM	
Friday/Sept. 28	Newport, R.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Saturday/Sept. 29	Boston, Mass.	7:30AM	6:00PM	**FREE** tour of historic Boston late-night poolside smoker
Sunday/Sept. 30	Bar Harbor, Me.	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Monday/Oct. 1	Halifax, N.S.	8:00AM	5:30PM	afternoon seminar
Tuesday/Oct. 2	Sydney, N.S.	7:00AM	6:30PM	
Wednesday/Oct. 3	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Thursday/Oct. 4	Saguenay Fjord	Scenic Cruising		morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Friday/Oct. 5	Quebec	8:00AM		
Saturday/Oct. 6	Quebec	5:00PM		morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Sunday/Oct. 7	Montreal	8:00AM		

DAY 3 Breakfast in bed? Why not? Let the *Amsterdam*'s staff, renowned for its superio service, pamper you. A grea day is in store: If you've signe up by May 1, you're *NR*'s gues for an extensive tour of histori Boston. Trinity Church, Beaco Hill, the Public Gardens, "Ol Ironsides," the State House Faneuil Hall, King's Chapel, th Old North Church, Harvar Yard: They're all stops on thi special excursion, which is ou gift to you. Tonight, after anoth er great dinner, stop by *NR* poolside "smoker," featurin classic **H. Upmann** cigars an cognac!

DAY 4 Yes, you *are* havin that much fun. Congratulat yourself for coming. You lov the ship, you're making ne friends. That was a pleasan breakfast with an *NR* edito and fascinating dinner conve sation with a guest speake And such sights! *NR*'s "Fa

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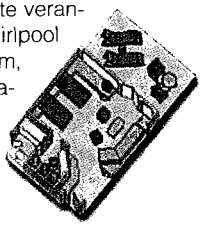
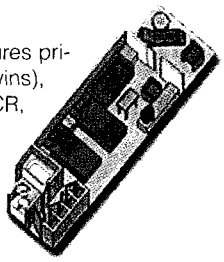
SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge servce, complimentary personalized stationary, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



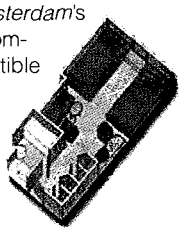
Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 14,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,399
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,199 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,099

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



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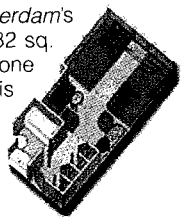
LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399

Foliage" cruise really *is* the opportunity of a lifetime. Today the *Amsterdam* is in Bar Harbor. Once the summer rival of Newport, this fabled town is rich in the legacy of the 19th-century millionaires. Explore Acadia National Park. Or take the city tour, where you'll clip-clop along tranquil trails in a horse-drawn carriage.

DAY 5 O Canada! We have arrived . . . in Halifax, the capital and cultural center of Nova Scotia and the "Maritimes." With granite boulders pounded by crashing surf, and lighthouses standing sentinel on rocky ledges, the ocean scenery is unrivaled. The city tour includes Halifax Citadel National Park, where the ramparts of a famous British fort and panoramic views await. Topping off this great day is another scintillating *National Review* seminar.

DAY 6 Sydney, Nova Scotia, is today's memorable stop. Cape Breton Island is so green and Gaelic. Explore the scenic 184-mile-long Cabot Trail, or tour the Fortress of Louisbourg, meticulously restored to its 1744 mint condition.

DAY 7 Charming Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, known for its red, sandy beaches, is a provincial capital with a distinctly English feel, where red double-decker buses motor along streets lined with gingerbread-trimmed Victorian houses. Visit Cavendish and the farmhouse immortalized in *Anne of Green Gables*. Why not try sea kayaking, or biking on the Confederation Trail, or a coastline nature walk? There's so much to do, *and* there's an *NR* seminar this afternoon, followed by a delightful cocktail reception.

DAY 8 Today we cruise Saguenay Fjord. Carved by a massive glacier at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers, it will awe you with its 1,000-foot cliffs, tree-lined peaks, hidden coves, and frolicking Beluga whales. Catch these between morning and afternoon *NR* seminars. And tonight, there's another relaxing poolside "smoker" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac.

DAYS 9 AND 10 *Mon Dieu!* We'll spend *two* days in Quebec, the noble walled city with a French accent. Stroll Old Quebec's maze of cobbled streets, with quaint sidewalk cafés, boutiques, and antique shops. Tour Montmorency Falls, higher than Niagara. Promenade down the tree-lined Grand-Alle. Visit the renowned Basilica of Ste Anne de Beaupré, the Place Royale, the "Plains of Abraham," and the fabled Château Frontenac. Our final full day will feature another *NR* seminar, plus a farewell cocktail reception, where we'll toast a wonderful trip and new friendships.

AND FINALLY The *Amsterdam* reaches the destinantion port of Montreal on October 7. You'll disembark with memories that will last a lifetime. But, if you desire, the melody can "linger on": Consider an overnight stay to explore this cosmopolitan center of French Canada, or take a three-night "post cruise" package designed especially by Holland America. *Au revoir, nos amis!*

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Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

1 Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Names #3 & #4 (*if taking others in your cabin*) _____

Street Mailing Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

( ) _____

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

2 Payment

A deposit of $1,500 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $1,500 per cabin is included.
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PRIOR *to May 25, 2001*	*$75 per person*	
May 26, 2001 to June 27, 2001	*$750 per person*	
AFTER *June 27, 2001*	*100% of cruise*	*319A*

3 Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy. Single rates available upon request. Air/Sea rates include round-trip air and transfers from select gateways, all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ___)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to New York and Montreal.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $32 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

Citizenship: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, indicate citizenship: _____

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send additional information on pre-cruise packages in New York and *post-cruise packages in Montreal.*

4 Important!

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Hitler's Historian

JACOB HEILBRUNN

Lying About Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial, by Richard J. Evans (Basic, 318 pp., $27)

NATIONAL character may have more to do with historical writing than some historians would care to admit. Consider England. English historians have always regarded it as their duty to shock and astonish their readers—whether it was A. J. P. Taylor declaring that Hitler blundered into the Second World War, or, more recently, Niall Ferguson contending that Britain should never have battled Wilhelmine Germany. Tory and Marxist camps ensure that idiosyncratic and ideologically driven history is the rule, not the exception, and it sometimes even shapes government policy. Top-flight conservative historians such as Ferguson, Michael Burleigh, Andrew Roberts, and others ensure that history is fun and fractious. The conservative clique at Cambridge's Peterhouse College was even the subject of a television sitcom in England. Can anyone imagine an American sitcom based on the Harvard history department?

Perhaps it shouldn't be altogether surprising, then, that the English Holocaust denier David Irving has positioned himself as the bad boy of World War II historians, one whose skill at ferreting out documents makes him impossible to ignore. Couple that with the fact that few historical interpretations are set in stone and that historians are understandably reluctant to condemn someone for expressing unpopular views, and you have a fairly open field for the likes of Irving. Irving has won praise from big historical guns like Gordon Craig, who observed that "such people . . . have an indispensable part in the historical enterprise." Even after Irving's failed libel suit last year against the American historian Deborah Lipstadt, who singled him out in her book *Denying the Holocaust*, the military historian John Keegan lauded him, as has Donald Cameron Watt (formerly of the London School of Economics). The idea seems to linger on that, whatever his failings and excesses, Irving is a serious historian.

Yet nothing could be further from the truth, as Richard J. Evans shows in his superb *Lying About Hitler*. A professor of history at Cambridge, Evans has written a number of books on Germany and served as a key defense witness for Lipstadt. Evans is a man of the Left, but he has produced substantial works of history, and attacked trendy postmodernist relativists in his recent *In Defense of History*. Indeed, to Evans, Irving's libel suit seemed the perfect opportunity to explore the boundary between justified historical reinterpretation and outright falsehood. And though Evans does not say so, the sheer theatrics of the trial itself must also have proved irresistible. With Irving as the accuser, the American Jewish historian Lipstadt as the defendant, and Princess Diana's former lawyer, Anthony Julius, as her attorney, the trial could have been made in Hollywood, which it perhaps will be.

Evans's book, based on a 700-page report for the defense, is never less than absorbing. A sure-footed writer, he allows the story to tell itself, eschewing rhetorical flourishes in favor of a clinical dissection of Irving's works and statements. He begins by explaining the stakes of the trial, then moves on to Irving's depiction of Hitler's role in the Holocaust, which Irving believes was negligible. He examines Irving's first book, a 1963 volume on the Allied bombing of Dresden, in order to show that his elastic understanding of historical truth was apparent from the outset. In perhaps his most exciting chapter, Evans describes the atmospherics of the trial itself, before concluding with a discussion of Irving's British defenders.

As Evans reminds us at the outset, Lipstadt's victory was anything but a foregone conclusion. In contrast to the United States, British libel law favors the plaintiff, who has only to show that the defendant published statements damaging to his or her reputation. Only three possible lines of defense existed for Lipstadt. The first was to dispute the meaning of the statements to which the defendant objected. The second was to admit their meaning, but deny that they were defamatory. The third was to show that Lipstadt's contentions were, in fact, true. The last is what Lipstadt and her attorney chose to prove.

Thus, Evans, with the assistance of several researchers, sifted through the large corpus of Irving's writings in order to establish that he had indeed systematically denied not only Hitler's responsibility for the murder of the Jews but the existence of the Holocaust itself. Evans starts by showing how closely Irving identified with Hitler, arguing that Irving's goal was to normalize Hitler, to portray him as an ordinary human being. In his 1977 book *Hitler's War*, Irving deemed Hitler a "patriot" who had tried to lead Germany to deserved greatness. Indeed, Evans quotes a statement of Irving's in which he declared that destiny had selected him to be the Führer's biographer. As Evans observes, "Irving . . . saw himself in the end not as a neutral, objective historian but as Hitler's representative in the world after his death, as the historian chosen, as it were, by the Führer himself."

When it came to the Jews, however, Irving took the opposite tack. Evans, who tracked down many of Irving's citations, provides a lesson in historical accuracy as he details how Irving massaged, or disguised, his sources so as to present German Jews in the worst possible light. Thus Irving claimed in his 1996 biography of Joseph Goebbels that the Third Reich's propaganda minister was "unfortunately not always wrong" in identifying criminals with Jews; in 1932, 31,000 cases of fraud, mainly insurance swindles, had been carried out by Jews. Checking Irving's references, Evans learned that Irving had relied upon a news agency that was a mouthpiece of the Nazi leadership, and that the source article itself relied on a news conference given by an SS officer. The truth was that for the year 1932, a total of 74 persons, Jewish and non-Jewish, had been convicted of insurance fraud in all of Germany.

The crux of Lipstadt's case, however, was to prove that Irving was a Holocaust

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denier, and it is here that Evans is at his most devastating. Irving seems to have deployed every species of denial. According to Evans, Irving dismissed the notion of mass murder by claiming that overzealous SS officers had padded the death toll in order to curry favor with Heinrich Himmler. But this, Evans writes, "was pure speculation, unsupported by any documentary evidence. This was characteristic of Irving's methods in disposing of inconvenient documents." At other points, Irving maintained that the Jews who died in Auschwitz perished from disease; that diesel engines couldn't be used for killing operations; that gassing never took place. There was no systematic attempt to murder the Jews; instead, "individual gangsters and criminals" had attacked them. All this was in marked contrast with the sworn court testimony that "it is denied that the Plaintiff has denied that gas chambers were used by the Nazis as

■ SHELF LIFE ■

'TURN it over, and turn it over, because everything is in it." The rabbi at Richard Elliott Friedman's bar mitzvah inscribed these words in the young man's Torah, and they represent the challenge of three millennia to scholars and lay people alike. Friedman himself has just weighed in with a fascinating *Commentary on the Torah* (HarperSanFrancisco, 681 pp., $50), which provides a new translation of the first five books of the Bible along with the original Hebrew text.

Scholars, Friedman included, have long debated the authorship of the Torah: Which passage came from which (hypothetical) source? But in this work, Friedman is more concerned with understanding the text of the Torah as a whole, a complex literary and religious work whose underlying unity must not be splintered into a mere patchwork of texts and influences. And he does an excellent job of explaining how the text molds itself into a five-book unity, and a broader unity with the succeeding books of the Bible, through complex echoes and foreshadowings. He points out, for example, that the mysterious Nephilim—the giants who seem so out of place and mythological in Genesis 6—will resurface to be defeated by Joshua (military conqueror of Palestine), and to confront David (ideal monarch of the eventual Jewish state) in the person of his most famous opponent, Goliath.

Friedman notes at the end of his commentary that Deuteronomy closes with a restatement of God's promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but not the actual fulfillment of the promises. This, he writes, is "a message to the reader that [the Torah] is not meant to be just a story of the past. . . . It always points beyond itself, to the destiny of Israel and humankind" in the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures and beyond. It points not just forward, but backward as well, because—in the cycle of Jewish liturgical readings—the end of Deuteronomy is always followed immediately by a return to the beginning of Genesis. "The Torah thus involves a looking forward and a looking back, a linking of past and future," writes Friedman. "It is a strange concept of time: linear and cyclical at the same time, historical and timeless at the same time."

Friedman is also interesting in his analysis of individual passages. For example, one of the most mystifying events in the Bible occurs in Exodus 4:24. Having just given Moses instructions to confront Pharaoh, God appears to have a rather inexplicable change of heart. In the 1962 Jewish Publication Society translation: "At a night encampment on the way, the LORD encountered him and sought to kill him." Why would God suddenly decide to kill Moses? Friedman modestly confesses that "no one knows" the true meaning of this incident, but offers his own suggestion. He translates the passage as follows: "And he was on the way, at a lodging place, and YHWH met him, and he asked to kill him." Friedman says the "he" and the "him" in this passage might both refer to Moses—who is therefore himself asking God to take his life, to spare him from the immense burden of being the prophet who must confront Pharaoh. This may or may not be an accurate interpretation, but it seems as plausible as the others, and certainly makes sense in the context of Moses' earlier reluctance to accept God's mission.

Friedman's is only the latest in an impressive line of one-volume Torah commentaries. The best for the lay reader is *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1,787 pp., $45) edited by W. Gunther Plaut. This massive volume contains not just the Hebrew text, the 1962 JPS translation, and intelligent essays of commentary, but also an amazing array of quotations from both Jewish and non-Jewish authors on the themes suggested by Torah passages. The book is a spiritual encyclopedia.

Another recent work is Everett Fox's *The Five Books of Moses* (Schocken, 1,056 pp., $35 hardcover, $25 paperback), a translator's attempt to recapture the sound, and not just the sense, of the Hebrew original. Fox forgoes some of the traditional felicities of translations, but what's truly remarkable about his version is its basic similarity to the others. Here's Numbers 16:17, in his version: "And take, each-man, his pan, / place on them smoking-incense, / and bring-it-near, before the presence of YHWH, / each-man his pan, / fifty and two hundred pans, / and (also) you and Aharon, each-man his pan." Here's the King James Version, from four centuries ago: "And take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the LORD every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer."

The literary styles are very different, but the sense is virtually identical. In comparing translations in this way, the reader can strengthen his assurance that in general—whatever translation he uses—he is getting a basically faithful version of the original; an English version that stands in analogy to the Hebrew much as the Hebrew itself stands to the truths that lie beyond words. —MICHAEL POTEMRA

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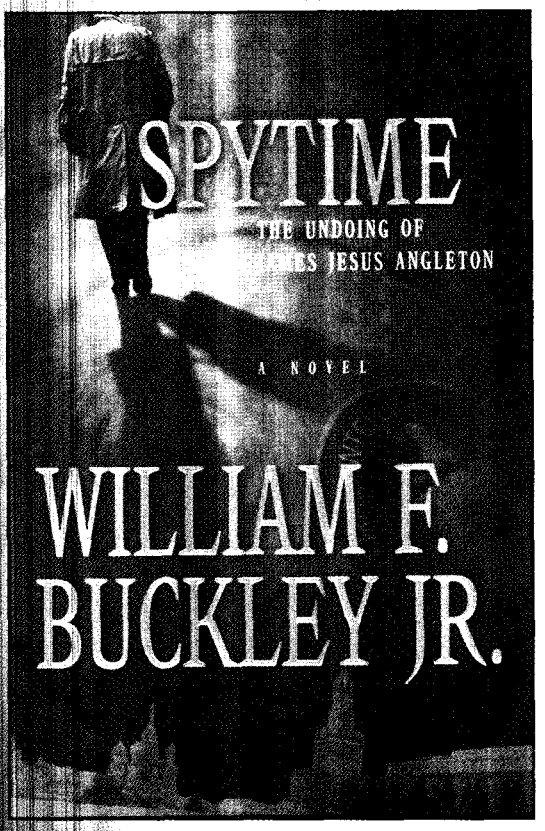

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the principal means of carrying out that extermination."

Had Irving merely drifted into Holocaust denial, a good egg gone bad over the years, as some of his fellow historians seemed to think? Evans demonstrates that this is quite wrong. In his examination of Irving's book on the bombing of Dresden, Evans discusses Irving's inflation of the number killed in the Allied raids in the spring of 1945. According to Evans, "it was clear to me that Irving's overriding purpose was to drive up the figure of those killed in the raids by any means until it became many times greater than the actual number, and began to achieve implicit and in the end explicit comparability with the mass murders carried out by the Nazis at Auschwitz and elsewhere."

Evans states at the outset that his aim is not to discuss Irving's connections to the German far Right or even to supply a comprehensive account of the whole libel case. Instead he believes that the "central issue . . . is the falsification and manipulation of the historical record that Lipstadt alleged Irving had committed." Still, this leaves one wanting more. The question of the support that Irving managed to garner from some historians remains.

One reason for the reluctance to attack Irving is that scholars obviously feel minority positions should not be anathematized. A historian may have unorthodox views, but that does not mean he is necessarily incorrect. This kind of professional loyalty can, however, devolve into relativism. Donald Cameron Watt, writing in support of Irving, declared, "What happens when the witnesses are all dead, if the reality has not been thrashed out? The truth needs an Irving's challenge to keep it alive"—as though the reality of the Holocaust had not been "thrashed out" already. Like many, Watt missed the distinction between our knowledge that the Holocaust occurred and legitimate dispute about why.

Another reason for the sometimes benign treatment of Irving may be that not until the 1980s did the Holocaust come to occupy the central position it now commands in historical literature. Irving's foremost American defender, Gordon Craig, for example, never mentions the Holocaust in his otherwise first-rate *Germany, 1866–1945*; the word Auschwitz does not appear. This is not to say that Craig or others sympathized in any way with Irving. Quite the contrary. But Craig appears to feel that Irving's peculiar views are incidental to the work he has done in unearthing Nazi documents.

Evans provides several tantalizing clues about the reasons for the fairly benevolent treatment Irving has received from the British historical profession. No doubt, the British tolerance for eccentric views has played a part. Evans also seems to suggest that Lipstadt was seen by John Keegan and other British historians as a Jewish-American outsider, while Irving was a John Bull figure: In Keegan's words, Irving "is a large, strong, handsome man, excellently dressed, with the appearance of a leading QC."

■

Nothing irks Irving more than the notion that Churchill was heroic and Hitler evil.

■

In fact, as Evans correctly notes, Irving wears ill-fitting suits. His shoes are shabby, his hair disheveled, and his manners wanting in polish. The truth is that Irving, like the Führer he so ardently admires, is a vulgar parvenu and social climber seething with class resentment who, paradoxically, craves the approbation of the British establishment that he despises. One sign of this is that he unconsciously apes the much more discreet anti-Semitism of his betters. Irving, who comes from a lower-middle-class background, apparently identifies his own battles with Hitler's struggles as a commoner who rose up to save the German empire. He despises what he sees as the destruction of Britain after the Second World War and the influx of immigrants into the country; surely an alliance with Germany, England's natural partner on the Continent, would have averted this catastrophe. In this version of history, of course, the villain is Churchill.

Evans mentions this, but he does not make enough of the fact that Churchill is Irving's bête noire. A certain segment of British opinion (conservative as well as leftist) has never accepted the postwar consensus that Churchill was a great man who rescued England. Even more fervently than British historian John Charmley, who recently argued that Churchill wrecked the British Empire by failing to reach an arrangement with Hitler, Irving sees Churchill as a loathsome figure. Nothing irks Irving more than the notion that Churchill was heroic and Hitler evil; the truth, Irving has stated, was "quite the reverse."

Similarly, Irving has claimed that Churchill "bears at least a partial share of the blame for the tragedy that befell the Jews in Europe, because Churchill fought the war five years longer than was necessary and provided the smokescreen behind which the tragedy occurred." This hatred of Churchill also goes a long way toward explaining why leftist Christopher Hitchens adores Irving. While some conservatives may view Churchill as a traitor to his class, for a certain kind of leftist he is still the man who did not shrink from sending in troops to crush striking miners during the Tonypandy riots, a heartless reactionary and warmonger. For both the far Right and the Left, the belief that the fight against Hitler was a patriotic war still rankles.

On April 11, 2000, Irving's libel action was rejected. Evans concludes that the "trial demonstrated triumphantly the ability of historical scholarship to reach reasoned conclusions about the Nazi extermination of the Jews on the basis of a careful examination of the written evidence." Perhaps. But on his own evidence, it may have been a task more tedious than difficult to demolish Irving's half-baked ideas. Irving himself made a complete hash of his case at the trial, even, to the titters of the courtroom, inadvertently addressing the judge as "Mein Führer." In any case, at this late date, it hardly seems necessary to prove in a British court of law that the Holocaust took place—although for serious historians, Evans's book should at least put paid to the notion that Irving ever had a shred of credibility. Whether Irving really deserves this skillful autopsy, or others yet to come, is highly questionable, however, since—as Deborah Lipstadt herself has observed—in the looking-glass world of Holocaust denial, to put these views on trial simply hands the deniers the publicity they crave. **NR**

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■ MUSIC ■

To Hell and Back with Jessye

JAY NORDLINGER

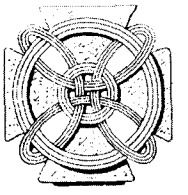
JESSYE NORMAN is one of the most important singers of our times, a star of every stage for some thirty years now. She is also something of a public figure, even beyond music. Norman—the pride of Augusta, Georgia—has garnered practically every honor there is to garner, both in this country and in Europe. In 1985, she sang at President Reagan's inauguration (a fact, curiously, omitted from her official biography, which includes many other signal moments). More recently, she lent her voice—in both senses—to President Clinton's anti-impeachment effort. This lady has been around.

As a singer, Norman boasts many virtues, beginning with one of the most extraordinary voices anyone has ever heard: It is large yet flexible; both dark and light; wide and thin. It has frequently been described as "organ-like" or "cathedral-like." It covers a vast range, too, from contralto depths to soprano heights. Very few singers—male or female—have had at their disposal so many notes.

The Norman repertory is similarly vast, in both opera and song. She sings Haydn well, in addition to Berlioz, Strauss, and the others for whom she is more famous. Her album of spirituals, which came out in 1987, is possibly the best such album of the hundreds made. Lately, she has taken to dabbling in jazz, singing Duke Ellington and recording with Michel Legrand. (Where is André Previn?)

Here is a singer who is extraordinary in every way, including in her unevenness: Hardly any other musician is capable of such wild swings. Some of the best vocal recitals in memory have been given by Norman: musical, insightful, exemplary. Some of the worst vocal recitals in memory have been given by her: mannered, self-indulgent, musically nutty. She has been both model and anti-model (though more often the former). She does best when she allows her audience to forget Jessye Norman a little and hear the composers and their music.

At 55, Norman should have a good many singing years left in her; but she is flirting with collapse, allowing her technique to erode and her interpretations to become ever stranger. At the end of February and the beginning of March, she gave three recitals at Carnegie Hall, in something called "The Songbook Series." Her accompanist was her longtime collaborator and friend James Levine, of the Metropolitan Opera. It is a rare honor to be permitted a recital series at Carnegie; in 1961, the pianist Arthur Rubinstein gave a series of ten in the space of six weeks. Obviously, the Hall intended the Norman/Levine evenings to be a Major Event.



Carnegie prepared and distributed a program that must have set a record of sorts: It was tall, wide, and very heavy. Eighty pages long, it was stuffed with photos and essays and song lyrics (making up "The Songbook"). On the cover was a drawing—specially commissioned—by David Hockney ("Flower Resting on a Programme"). Inside were two watercolor portraits of Norman and Levine—also freshly commissioned—by Francesco Clemente. Norman wrote a valentine to Levine; Levine wrote a valentine to Norman. We were made to think that this Major Event celebrated a Major Partnership. There was also a whiff of valediction in the air, something that should disquiet Norman's millions of fans.

The Event came with a gimmick or two: Singer and pianist were not to determine an evening's offerings—from "The Songbook"—until that same day; this was supposed to lend freshness and spontaneity to the performance. And the audience was asked to vote, through Carnegie Hall's website, on the encores to be performed, from a long list of Norman favorites. These gimmicks were

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BY B. BURKE

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pleasant enough; but, in retrospect, they did not bode well. True musical performance can do without such tricks.

The first recital, February 24, began with Beethoven's *Gellert Lieder*, which Norman and Levine have performed many times, as well as recorded. Norman is well suited to Beethoven, having the right solidity and nobility. At Carnegie, she did adequately, but had trouble finding her pitch on the upper notes. Also, she seemed to be leaning forward more than usual, and doing other distracting things with her body. Norman has ruined many a performance with tics, both musical and extra-musical; the Beethoven escaped, but barely.

Wagner, in his *Wesendonck Lieder*, was not so lucky. Norman has performed these songs marvelously in the past, but here she was coarse and disjointed. All of her mannerisms were to the fore: a pouncing on notes, an excess of rubato, a reluctance to let the music speak for itself, to breathe. She was repeatedly flat on high notes, and even medium-high ones. The *Wesendonck Lieder* should be transporting, but Norman did not give them a chance, failing to hold them together, even within themselves, individually, to say nothing of the cycle as a whole. The beloved "Träume" was especially poor—sung phrase by phrase, without flow or logic. This was hardly Wagner at all, but Norman at her most self-parodic.

After intermission, she fared better in Ravel's *Shéhérazade*, another familiar set for her. She has always been an interesting French singer; she can lighten her voice for this repertory, while retaining a somewhat operatic strength, which is refreshing. In the Ravel, she conveyed an Oriental mystery, and a cool sensuality. But there was far too much sliding around, vocally—way beyond customary and acceptable portamento. And the upper notes were not only flat but frayed.

■

Norman seemed to be at a tipping point: Would she ever sing well again?

■

She ended with Schoenberg's *Brettl Lieder*, yet another set that she should knock out of the park. But she indulged in more sliding and hamming than even these songs—*Cabaret Songs*—can take. She seemed to lose control of herself. In place of voice, and honest singing, she offered mugging. The little aria from *Spiegel von Arcadien* is a comic gem, but Norman was so sloppy and careless with it, she stepped on all its charm.

And yet: With her last encore of the evening, she really delivered. Her "He's Got the Whole World in His Hand" is one of the great experiences in music. And so it was at Carnegie, with Norman her assured, soaring self. This provided some hope amid the gloom.

Her next recital, March 1, was a true *Liederabend*, an evening devoted exclusively to German songs. It opened with a Schubert group, in which Norman's singing took on some character and authority. In "Gretchen am Spinnrade," however, she ditched a true *piano*—a proper soft singing—and emitted an odd, disembodied sound. She seems to think it is affecting; instead, it is merely affected. And her conception of the piece, musically, was simply bizarre, incoherent.

Norman traversed Berg's *Sieben frühe Lieder*—another cycle in her hit parade—with sensitivity, but also with a grainy, un-Norman-like sound (to go with frightful intonation). She appeared to be laboring under great strain, which was dismaying, given that Norman has usually been the picture of ease. Next came a Strauss set, music that Norman, in form, can be expected to eat up. Her 1987 recording of Strauss songs, with the late accompanist Geoffrey Parsons, is one of the most appealing, sumptuous Strauss collections on record. Yet in Carnegie Hall, she continued to suffer. Her "Allerseelen" was overly slow and stilted, and she was nowhere near the actual notes. In "Lob des Leidens," she showed off some "chest voice," but this was not at all musical, and was, in fact, just showing off: See what noises I can make! Of course, some people get a rise out of chest notes, whether they are appropriate or not. (Marilyn Horne once joked about making an album called "Chestnuts for Chest Nuts.")

The singer acquitted herself decently in a Wolf set, drawn from the *Italienisches Liederbuch*—but the quick and intricate songs, she sort of talked and slopped through, pretty much giving up on truly singing them. In "Ich hab' in Penna," she was beneath her final, big A by a mile.

For encores, she offered Schumann's "Widmung" (nicely done) and Mahler's sublime, otherworldly "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen," from the *Rückert Lieder*. Norman began this song encouragingly; but then, at the beginning of the final section, came that chest voice—in effect, a second voice, to go, and jar, with Norman's primary one—which utterly spoiled the thing. Illegitimate. Maddening.

She seemed to be at a tipping point: Would she ever sing well again? Or had she gone off the deep end, to stay—leaving us only with our memories, and our recordings?

Fortunately, she gave a reassuring answer in the third and final recital, March 6. Here was a calmer, more composed, more sensible Norman. In two sets of Brahms—low and stately songs, made for her—she was measured, tasteful, and elegant. Her phrasing was normal; her dynamics, reasonable. Gone was the stiltedness of previous nights. Norman displayed some fine *piano* singing, too, without a trace of the earlier disembodiment. A refusal to sing on the notes—a desire to slide and swoop instead—ruined the "Sappische Ode," but, on the whole, this Brahms singing was cause to cheer.

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The latter half of the program was French, starting with three songs of Satie: They had a fitting humor and spareness. Then came an assortment of Debussy songs, which Norman and Levine have performed, and recorded, beautifully. In "Beau soir," the singer demonstrated some impressive breathing, but the song was much too slow, and sagging with flatness. In "Nuit d'étoiles," she was badly off track, singing notes that Debussy did not write, seemingly unable to hear herself. Then, in "Mandoline," she was secure again.

So she continued in the *Chansons madécasses*, expressing the urgency and exoticism of the score. These are little scenas, and Norman brought to them a welcome drama. And when she gives volume—that river of Norman sound—she can still send tingles down your spine and make your hair stand on end.

The audience roared its adoration and appreciation. Norman responded with a string of encores: Berlioz's "L'île inconnue," from *Les nuits d'été*, which was free and joyous (and flat); Strauss's "Morgen," which was a reversion: self-conscious, phrase-by-phrase, unnatural; Strauss's "Zueignung," which was fine; and . . . It seemed certain that she would bid farewell with "Great Day," a spiritual that—as with "He's Got the Whole World"—Norman fairly owns.

But she had something slightly different in mind: Norman came out, sat down on the piano bench, faced the audience, and sang, unaccompanied, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." The sun broke magnificently through the clouds. This was the ideal Jessye: It was not just soulful and moving, but technically flawless. No tics. No sliding. No swooping. No flatting. No debris. No weirdness. Just pure, perfect singing. She stood up on her final F sharp, which began *mezzo-piano*—and dead-on—and grew, in a splendid crescendo. It was a gimmick, yes (another one), but it packed a huge punch, and all in attendance rocketed out of their seats, screaming. Norman had done her best singing of the series, by far. It was the Norman that anyone would want to hear, and remember. It was the Norman that won a world of admirers in the first place.

And, most gratifyingly, it was a Norman that cannot yet be given up on. But, gosh, she puts you through hell. **NR**

■ FILM ■

Unfortunate Travelers

JOHN SIMON

THE history of French literature features endless arguments about *mélange des genres*: whether two different genres can be mixed successfully. If the new movie ***The Mexican*** had been available to the anti-mixers, what hay they could have made with it! The film, an attempt to cross a romantic comedy with a shoot-'em-up thriller, concerns a supposedly priceless, antique hand-crafted Mexican pistol, which in my admittedly non-pistol-packing view looks like a piece of florid flea-market junk. As does the movie itself.

The amiable bumbler Jerry (Brad Pitt) has, through an unfortunate accident, become a gofer for a bunch of inept but murderous L.A. gangsters. Having bungled things before, he is given one last chance to save his skin by retrieving the valuable weapon and delivering it to the gang, just when he was supposed to drive to Las Vegas with his irascible girlfriend Sam (Julia Roberts), who wants to become a croupier.

Why she wants to leave L.A. is unclear, as is why, however much she hates Jerry's reluctant involvement with the gangsters, she doesn't respect his desire to avoid being rubbed out by them. Sam is a psychobabbling shrew, and Jerry one of cinema's stereotypes, the lovable loser who turns into an unlikely hero. After Sam throws out Jerry in a postcoital pandemonium, the lovers go their separate ways and do not reunite for ninety minutes of film, which is not what you want from a romantic comedy with two starry heartthrobs.

Sam heads for Vegas and, after a bizarre shootout in a roadside ladies' room, ends up captive to a hit man, Leroy, who holds her hostage lest Jerry try something funny with that priceless

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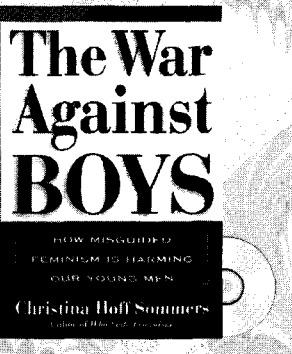

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pistol. Leroy (James Gandolfini of *The Sopranos*) and Sam develop a simple-minded symbiosis after it emerges that he is gay, and that a homosexual hit man is doubly handicapped in affairs of the heart. Sam in turns spills her guts to the love-starved killer (albeit only figuratively) and gleefully helps him pick up a young male lover, whereupon the trio travels for a while in a merry but one-third mismatched *ménage à trois*.

Jerry's adventures down Mexico way are a similar mix of giggles and gunplay. Before you can say B. Traven, our dopily grinning gringo is mixed up with some sinisterly umbrage-taking *hombres*, the matter complicated by his monolingual stabs at pidgin Spanish, as when he tries to thumb a ride to the nearest "town-o." As the film-o progresses, we get several monochrome flashbacks to contradictory versions of the pistol's prehistory, melding patronizing farce with comic carnage. At last, the gang sends another hit man to get the gun and Jerry's scalp.

The fierce and the farcical are given too much screen time to intertwine; Pitt and Roberts, too little. The film is also far too long, with endings upon further endings coming faster than bullets, and almost equally deadly in their desperate attempts at humor. J. H. Wyman's screenplay and Gore Verbinski's direction are not above such moribund clichés as Jerry looking sadly after Sam as she is about to board a plane away from Mexico, at which point a truck blocks his view. The plane takes off, and he sadly turns to leave when . . . you can fill in the rest.

And there is also a ferociously fang-baring mongrel with a heart of gold, a heartwarming cameo by an unbilled superstar, and a surpassingly noble Mexican to make up for the many ignoble ones. Pitt goes from pleasantly dopey to ditzily dapper with his dependably boyish charm, and Julia Roberts reprises Julia Roberts, that lusciously leggy, wackily wide-mouthed, coolly volatile sexpot. But it is James Gandolfini who comes off best with his semi-menacing, semi-mushy ways, and it is bad news for all concerned when the comic shadow of a gunman outshines the wobbly romance.

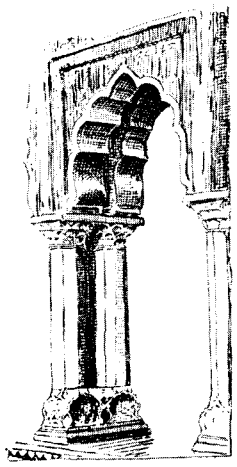
■ We are told that ***The Widow of Saint Pierre*** is based on a true story, a claim that even in 1850 French-colonial Canada, indeed, even on the godforsaken island of Saint Pierre off Newfoundland, the most loose-jawed python would find hard to swallow. Truth, we know, is often stranger than fiction, but this tale of superhuman nobility manages to be stranger and more indigestible than both. But how to convey so much preposterousness without giving away too much of the ridiculous plot?

■

Juliette Binoche plays Madame La as Madame Ooh-la-la from la-la land, but what actress could made sense of her role?

■

Two drunken fishermen argue vehemently about whether an absent third is *gros* or *gras*. Now *gros* is "fat," but *gras* is not "big," as the subtitles would have it, but "stout" or "chubby"; in any case, the putatively witty near-homophony of *gros* and *gras* does not translate. Anyway, the gross duo decides, in the wee hours, to check out the third man's avoirdupois. He steps out of his house cautionary knife in hand, but, in the ensuing fracas, it is he who gets killed.



At the miscreants' trial, one, Neel Auguste, is condemned to death; the other, condemned to penal servitude, is killed in an accident. The law demands that Neel be guillotined, but the nearest widow (French slang for guillotine) is in the West Indies. The French government eventually undertakes to ship it from there, which, however, takes months. The captain of the local garrison is a decent, dedicated, and deeply humorless fellow, happily married to the woman the islanders call Madame La, so named because these macho seafaring folk would not tolerate a woman's being called Madame la Capitaine. (Already I have trouble suspending my disbelief.)

Neel is imprisoned in a shack across the courtyard from the captain's abode, held incommunicado under dismal conditions. So, despite her blissful sex life with her husband, the tender-hearted Madame La becomes moved by Neel's plight and, next, attracted by his taciturnly virile, tousledly hirsute penitence. She and, for her sake, the captain do whatever they can to improve Neel's lot, and pretty soon the now-sober chap is allowed to perform odd jobs (and the odd heroic rescue) around town, earning the respect of the fisherfolk, the adulation of the women, all sorts of privileges, and, finally, marriage to a local widow. Meanwhile, the other "widow" is inching its way by slow boat to Saint Pierre. But, by now, only the small-minded governor and the petty town council, in defiance of everyone else, insist on the beheading.

There ensues such a rivalry among Madame La, the captain, and Neel as to who can out self-sacrifice, out great-heart the other as to leave no intelligent moviegoer unmoved to hysterical laughter. Neel is played stonily by the Yugoslav film director Emir Kusturica with a horrible French accent, and his appeal for the ladies falls through the cracks of the screenplay. As the captain, the worthy Daniel Auteuil wears his gallant uxoriousness on one sleeve, his unsmiling doughtiness on the other. Juliette Binoche plays Madame La as Madame Ooh-la-la from la-la land, but what actress could make sense of her role in Claude Faraldo's truth-and-imbecility-based screenplay?

I have never cared for the director, Patrice Leconte (most recently, his *Ridicule* was ridiculously overrated), and here again he does not rise above his superficial competence. He insisted on operating the camera himself, which may explain why Eduardo Serra's cinematography does incomplete justice to the picturesque snowscapes. But the closely contested prize for absurdity must go to Pascal Estève for the score, music so obnoxiously bathetic that even the otherwise shameless press kit refuses to divulge the composer's name. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Let's Drink to It

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27

To what? Anything. In the current *Alumni Magazine* from Yale, a 20-year-old sophomore (Miss Kara Lowentheil does not herself drink) says of her classmates that "they're very funny, very bright, very interesting, motivated, and intelligent people." And they are "hardly at the brink of despair and isolation. Apart from weekend nights, when they resemble nothing so much as a bunch of inebriated chimpanzees."

At Harvard, Prof. Henry Wechsler's landmark college-alcohol study revealed that binge drinking on college campuses was much more extensive than anyone believed. "Our society has taken alcohol as a rite of passage. It's like living next to a fish factory—after a while you don't smell it anymore."

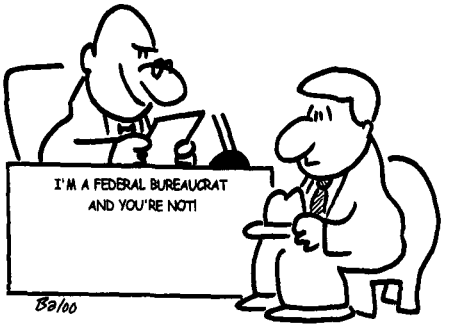
Writing three years ago at Princeton, undergraduate Wes Tooke rejected the easygoing assumption that it was always so, as witness, e.g., F. Scott Fitzgerald, whose citation is not reassuring given that he died of drink. (The implication is that if you write *The Great Gatsby*, it's okay to go on and die from booze.) It was *not* always so, wrote Tooke, drinking is more intense today. Statistics from the Princeton Health Center record that the number of students treated for alcohol poisoning more than doubled between 1983 and 1999.

What to do? There is a hard libertarian edge out there that can't be entirely ignored. One Princeton student, a former varsity athlete and a campus leader, said it in so many words: "I am 20 years old. What I choose to do at two in the morning in my club is my business."

There isn't really a consensus on society vs. the college drinker. There are great swings in attitude on what, if anything, should be done about it. At the University of Rhode Island recently, one fraternity voted to go dry. But that sounds like Prohibition as an answer to alcoholism. Professor Wechsler defines the binge drinker as the male who consumes five drinks in an evening, the female who has four. In contrast, some universities opt to help to mitigate the problem through a sequestration of sorts. If you confine the kids' drinking to the college area, they will disport there, and lessen the problem of the drunken car ride coming back from the out-of-town bar. At Princeton, in the clubs, students seem to feel "immune from the law," Tooke reported. "After all, why shouldn't we? Last Sunday, police cars drove up and down Prospect Avenue [fraternity row] all day, yet no police officer ever entered a club . . . and you can't tell me they didn't have probable cause. Too often, Princeton seems like a consequence-free environment where students can break street lights or throw up all over their bathrooms and somebody else will quietly clean up the mess."

The mess is a good word for it. College-age Americans, perhaps especially in the Ivy League, are greatly cosseted. On the other hand, much is expected of them. Mr. Tooke recommended, among other things, more university-sponsored extra-curricular activities that aren't alcohol-lubricated. Miss Lowentheil launches her suggestion by reminding the readers that she is not talking about the problems of a tiny minority. "I always have to laugh when my parents ask if anyone 'binge drinks' at Yale, because there isn't any other kind of drinking here. A good number of people start drinking around nine P.M. and just keep going until they throw up, pass out, run out of alcohol, or manage to make it back to their room with the object of their desires, at which point they are usually too drunk even to get their clothes off. . . . There must be a better way."

Of course there is: It is called m-o-d-e-r-a-t-i-o-n. Though the idea of inducing many college students not to drink is oddly appealing. H. L. Mencken observed years ago that the complaint against Calvin Coolidge that he spent too many hours in the White House asleep failed to acknowledge the benefits to the country when a president is asleep. When he is awake, he is usually curtailing the liberties of the people.



There is always, of course, the search for the root complaint. Alcohol consumption is in part escapist. From what do our students seek escape?

Israeli Bully Boy?

NEW YORK, MARCH 6

The retiring ambassador to France, Mr. Felix Rohatyn, wrote recently an op-ed urging that the United States repeal its capital-punishment laws. The reasons for it begin, he said, with the disgrace attached to civilized (as a diplomat, he did not use that word) nations that still do it. A second reason is the conviction that death sentences do not keep people from doing things they ought not to do, quite the contrary: They encourage people to flame out in the same way. And, of course, the old reason: to sanction the clinical ending of life in an execution chamber stirs up the wrong kind of appetite in the younger generation, acclimatizing them to the culture of violence.

So what are the Israelis going to do with Avigdor Lieberman?

I cannot find that the new "national infrastructures minister" for the upcoming government of Gen. Sharon has actually championed capital punishment. It has, of course, not been used by Israel, with the single exception of Adolf Eichmann, whose hanging was less an execution than a votive candle to 6 million Jews murdered. The Israelis aren't against killing people, but they don't want to do so pursuant to judicial processes. The Israelis are renowned for their ability to fix their sights on especially nubile enemies of the state and dispatching them through well-planned commando strikes.

Such activity is paramilitary in character, but we are entitled to wonder how Minister Lieberman is going to harmonize with the Israeli tradition against capital punishment. A Palestinian straps a bomb to his torso and rides a bus into a crowded neighborhood and kills men, women, and children. Such terrorists are most often killed themselves in the course of the act, but not always. They are caught, tried as terrorists—and

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imprisoned. There are those who are willing to opine that their lives in prison are worse than execution, but that argument can always be made. Timothy McVeigh has made it. It is said from time to time about Rudolf Hess, sentenced to life imprisonment at Nuremberg. After 40 years or so there were moves to let him go—vetoed by the Soviets; and he lingered at Spandau prison, the sole inhabitant of it, until finally he contrived to commit suicide. But people who are before sentencing judges are always relieved when they hear it said that they will be sent to prison for life, rather than that they will be hanged. But Mr. Lieberman is a very tough man. He emigrated from the Soviet Union at age 20, learned Hebrew from scratch, and is routinely characterized as the "bully boy" of Israeli politics. He worked once as a bouncer, and his career in the Knesset gives the impression that that experience proved vocational. Prime Minister Barak, who solicited his support, ended with a view of him which the upcoming government has presumably weighed. He said, "[Lieberman's] a very intelligent guy, very sophisticated, but his view of the world is very dangerous." Lieberman responded wholeheartedly. "In the beginning I saw Barak as a brave man, one willing to take chances. Now I have reached the conclusion that he is simply insane, and every minute that he is in power threatens our existence. I was absolutely depressed when I left our meeting this week. I met with a man who was not responsible for his actions."

"If [Lieberman] has any strategic doctrine," writes Lee Hockstader of the *Washington Post*, "it is that Israel should dispense with the idea of 'proportionate response' and deal with any enemy provocation by pulverizing the Arabs."

And certainly, one would assume, by petitioning to establish capital punishment for terrorists. "To say there is no military solution to the conflict is really nonsense," Mr. Lieberman said most recently. "There's only one way to achieve peace—to be strong, to be tough." One of these lawmakers really aroused Mr. Lieberman who said, perhaps wistfully, "In a Communist country they would've put you in front of a firing squad."

That's not the way Israelis do things, not quite; and certainly not to dissident members of the Knesset. But the assimilation of Mr. Lieberman recalls the need for rectilinear thought. If such a man is to devote himself to the infrastructure of government, surely the question of capital punishment needs to be raised. The terrible burden of Israel—never mind the reasonable complaints of Palestinians—is the continuing terrorism. Of the kind that should warrant capital punishment.

Xenophobia on The Wing?

NEW YORK, MARCH 9

On almost the same day, 1) Iowa declared English to be the state's official language; 2) Drake University, Iowa's largest private college, announced that it would cease offering modern languages in its curriculum; and 3) the Census Bureau announced that the proportion of Hispanic Americans had grown to 12.5 percent of the population, 35 million people.

The decision by Drake's president, David Maxwell, to drop foreign languages was done under his own claim to immunity from the charge of provincialism. The reason? Before becoming president of a college, Mr. Maxwell had been a teacher of Russian. This datum was shot out at his critics in addition to the larger cultural protection: He is all in favor of learning foreign languages, he said, but teaching a foreign language to students sitting in a classroom in the middle of Iowa isn't the way to do it. What you should do is encourage aspirant polyglots to travel abroad and live there in such circumstances as would require them to learn the language thoroughly. If you want to learn French, Mr. Maxwell is saying, go to France.

The Chronicle of Higher Education's website registers enormous alarm, and disdain, over the Drake situation, which leaves 15 foreign-language teachers unemployed. "I am totally appalled," writes a Russian-language professor at the University of Utah, "that a university would drop its language programs. Would they dream of dropping the philosophy department? Dropping languages means it may no longer even be worthy of the title of 'university.'"

The old question of course arises, ought education to be tied to utility? The University of Utah has in turn proposed that science majors be relieved of the usual language requirement. Why should scientists be asked to speak to anybody?

Are those Hispanics who live in Iowa, now a one-language state, going to settle down in permanent Spanish-speaking enclaves, or will they yield to the national momentum in favor of English?

These questions crowd the cultural landscape. Some will cite the experience of Switzerland, where there are people who speak (only) French, German, Italian, and Romansh. And they live side by side, happy as lambs.

The trouble with citing Switzerland is that the CH (as they label it—Helvetian Confederation) violates all the rules of national concinnity. They speak different languages, but get along with each other fine. They have more guns per capita than the U.S. Army, but they don't shoot each other. The fabled Rule of Law, the hallmark of civilized national arrangements, is simply absent. One doesn't, in Switzerland, know what the law is, knowing only that if you don't abide by it, there will be a fine to pay. If you shoot the president of Switzerland, it is first required that you identify him, but how much you get docked for bumping him off is certainly specified, in some code book, somewhere.

Why is it—prudent? necessary? advantageous?—to expose oneself to a foreign language, even if there is no intention, as by the Drake formula, to move to Paris or Moscow or Madrid to perfect one's knowledge? What about the tens of millions who in a hundred years of academe have taken one, two, three years of German or French or Spanish, letting their exposure wither immediately on the vine? Have they nevertheless got something from it, some peephole into the texture of other people?

Mr. Maxwell is skeptical, and it is good that the question has been raised so forthrightly. Will the Hispanic person living in Iowa simply be required to learn English, not only if he wishes to attend Drake, but also the University of Iowa, under the new dispensation?

What tugs against the idea that the sweep of English will conquer the world is that there are zero indications that this is happening. It doesn't seem to matter at all that English is the language of movies seen around the world, and the language of the universal music of such as the Beatles. Every language borrows from another for convenience: "Are you free for fifoclockte tomorrow?" the Frenchman might ask.

But the commitment to one's national tongue is hard-core. When Drake graduates become Iowa legislators, maybe they will arrange for legislative sabbaticals to spend a year in France.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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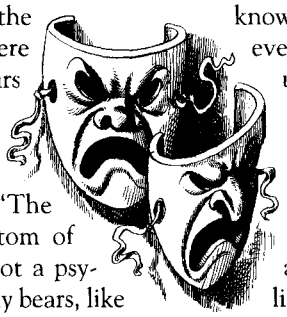
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

I HAD never even heard of Dale Earnhardt until he crashed into eternity, but now here I am writing a column about him. What a country!

The outpouring of grief began at once, but this time there were some telling differences. The emotional pitch rose into the Diana-JFK Jr. range, but it was regional, confined mostly to the South, making it impossible for cultural optimists to say, "It brought us together." Another difference lay in the spontaneous memorial: There were no piles of teddy bears on sidewalks. This inadvertently tasteful oversight owes itself to Earnhardt's ruthless reputation as "The Intimidator" and his custom of calling anyone who was not a psychopath a "candyass." Teddy bears, like sidewalks, moved him not.



Instead of the usual static mountain of maudlin bibelots, Earnhardt's spontaneous memorial took the form of motion as some 300 of his mourners turned the Capital Beltway into a stock-car lap and circled once around D.C., a distance of 62 miles. Said one participant: "It's giving back a little of what he gave," which was precisely what the three police jurisdictions involved were worried about. In view of the number of souped-up cars in the solemn cortege, Maryland and Virginia state troopers provided a motorcycle escort to keep the speed down to 25 mph.

Held in the misty rain of a Sunday pre-dawn, it gave off a creepiness not usually found in celebrity wakes. Black, his racing color, predominated, from a row of empty black hats lined up on a dashboard like a headsman's display, to the black balloons held by sleepy children. One man drove an exact replica of Earnhardt's black death car. Another had a doll dressed as Earnhardt in his passenger seat. Another held up his $999 platinum replica of Earnhardt's car as if it were a chalice and made the somber pronouncement, "Auto racing has lost its Elvis. The king is dead."

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Earnhardt's Number 3, like an updated symbol of the Trinity, was on everything, and when the cortege had run its course, the trucker who organized it told the *Washington Post*: "We're going to try to make this an annual event to keep the memory of him alive."

It was a Black Mass choreographed by Stephen King, lacking only background music from *Carmina Burana*. Stock-car fans, being country-music fans, don't know about *Carmina Burana*, however, so the more polished among us took up the slack.

The most unexpected tribute came from the most polished man in America, MSNBC anchor Brian Williams, himself a stock-car enthusiast and a friend of Earnhardt. Williams's remarks in *Time* had the touching simplicity that comes from controlled writing, but he stood alone. Other eulogists went overboard.

Washington Times columnist Suzanne Fields declared that Earnhardt "did what he did because he had to" and "never forgot his roots"; extolled him for "testing the limits," and compared him to the abstract artist Jackson Pollock, the "anti-hero" who was beset by "demons," yet remained "authentic."

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, Brock Yates announced that he does not mourn Earnhardt: "After all, who among us is blessed to die in front of millions of fans, without pain, engaged in an activity that produces wealth, fame, and immortality? . . . Who could go out on a more soaring emotional high?" If the essence of sport is courage, Yates maintained, "he died a noble death."

He did nothing of the sort. He died plastered with ads. He was Goodyear and Winston and Budweiser and Jiffy-Lube and Pennzoil and Coca-Cola and all the other products whose decals were sewn on his suit and stuck on his car, a man turned into a walking billboard named Dale Earnhardt.

This latest catharsis, like all the other wakes and pilgrimages we have come to call Outpourings of Grief, is yet more proof of America's incurable irony deficiency. To understand what we are doing to ourselves, take a look at what neoclassical scholar John J. Enck had to say: "Reason itself, as the 17th century regarded it, tends to unearth in even the most personal and intense suffering, ironies whose very recognition furnishes a sardonic strength."

In other words, solace awaits those who can tell the difference between what they think they are doing and what they actually are doing.

Take the lap around the Capital Beltway: Several hundred racing freaks, all secretly yearning to be what their class of Southerners calls "badass," imitating the chief activity of the trapped family man who spends his life commuting to the female-dominated suburbs, all to honor the thrice-married Earnhardt, who kept his stock cars in an isolated rural compound uxoriously named the "Garage Mahal."

The intensity of the Earnhardt requiem alarmed polished Americans, because it reminded them of the spirit of the '60s, when it was fashionable to condemn "our Anglo-Saxon repression." When Earnhardt's mourners, who are overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon, proved to be as unrepressed as everybody else, the polished class knew a tendril of fear at the realization that there are now no repressed people left. To vanquish their fear, they lent their voices to Earnhardt's elegiac chorus to placate all those new-minted Anglo-Saxon hysterics.

There is real cause to be afraid of the unrepressed. "The deepest of all human anxieties," said Anna Freud, "is to be at the mercy of one's own impulses." Nobody would dare call for stoicism now, but people know that emotion can snap and reverse course in a heartbeat. By "opening up" we have opened ourselves up to unrelenting insecurity, and it's due to get worse.

The rage that forms the flip side of grief is destined to provide us with an alternative to "suicide by cops." The next time a celebrity dies and the sidewalk memorials spring up, go stand in front of a teddy-bear cairn and run down the dead celebrity. You'll be torn to pieces. Guaranteed. **NR**

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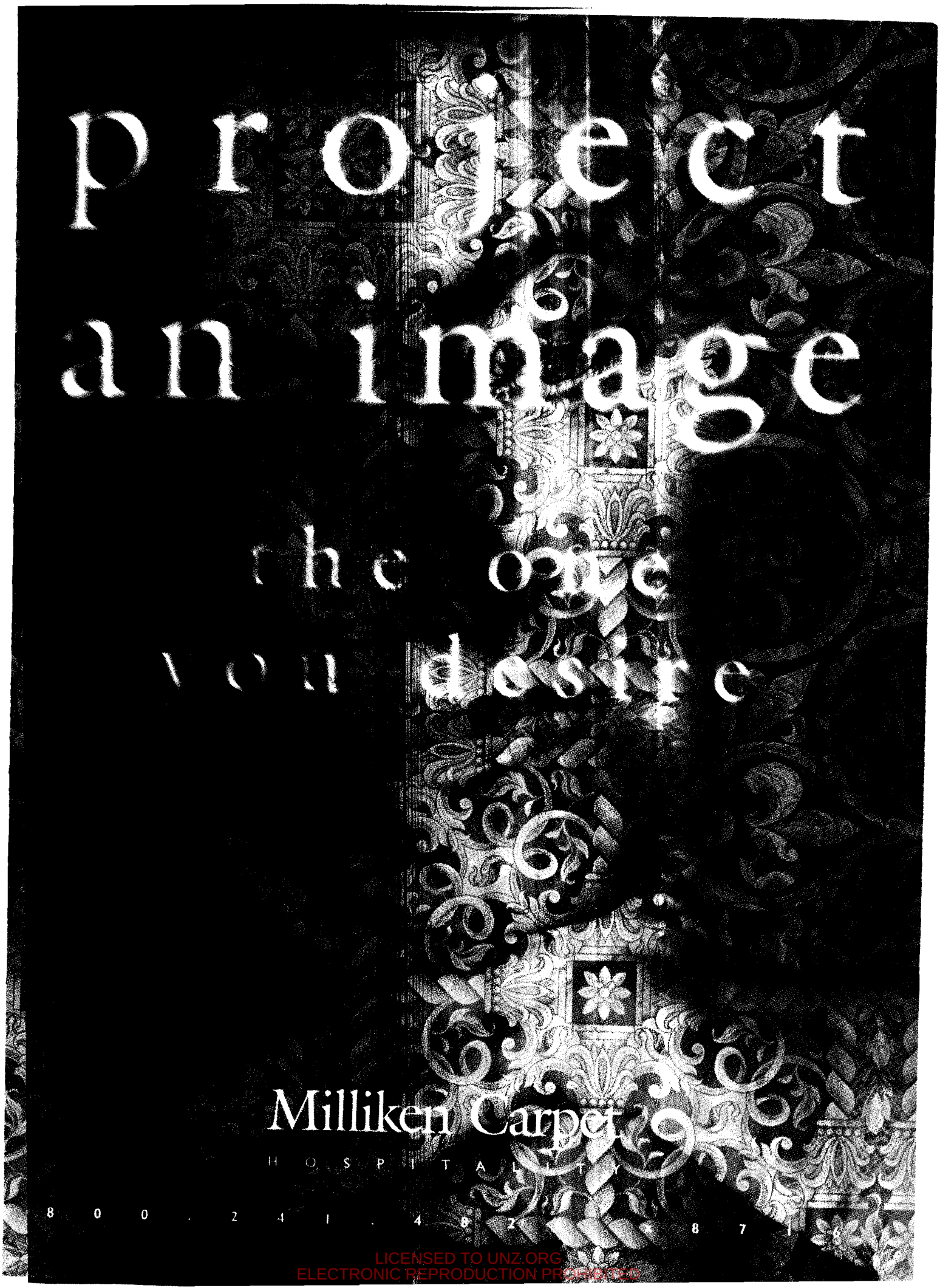

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